LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS
And other EMINENT
British SEAMEN.

CONTAINING

Their Perſonal HISTORIES, and a Detail of all their Public SERVICES.

INCLUDING

A New and Accurate NAVAL HISTORY from the earlieſt Accounts of Time; and clearly proving, by a continued Series of Facts, our uninterrupted Claim to, and Enjoyment of, the Dominion of our SEAS.

INTERSPERSED

With many curious PASSAGES relating to our DISCOVERIES, PLANTATIONS, and COMMERCE.

The whole ſupported by proper Authorities.

By JOHN CAMPBELL, Eſq;

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BRITISH MUSEUM

LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS, &c.
Including a New and Accurate
NAVAL HISTORY, &c.

CHAP. I.
The Naval History of GREAT BRITAIN, *under the Reign of King* WILLIAM III, *from the Revolution, to the Peace of* Ryſwick.

THE crown was no ſooner placed on the head of the prince of *Orange*, than he began to feel the weight of it, and experience the cares that attend it: he had not ſo much as leiſure to taſte in peace, the firſt moments of royalty [a], but found himſelf obliged to embark in a war,

[a] Kennet, Burchet, Rapin, Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, life of king William, Columna roſtrata.

as ſoon as he was ſeated on the throne. A war in which all *Europe* was engaged, and engaged in point of intereſt; for the ambitious deſigns of *Lewis* XIV. were now ſo evident, that even the powers, leaſt inclined to action, found themſelves obliged to provide for their own ſafety, by entering into a confederacy for the more effectually oppoſing the encroachments of that aſpiring prince. The *French* king, on the other hand, inſtead of diſcovering any dread of this formidable alliance, began firſt; by falling upon the empire, and declaring war againſt *Spain*, at the ſame time that he provided for his ally, king *James*, whom he ſent over into *Ireland*, with a conſiderable force, eſcorted by a fleet of twenty-two ſail of men of war [b].

It was upon this occaſion, that the ill management in the two laſt reigns, in reſpect to the correſpondence held between our princes and the *French* king, manifeſtly appeared, by the prodigious growth of his naval power. Under the adminiſtration of the great cardinal *Richelieu*, *France* was ſo weak in this reſpect, that this high-ſpirited miniſter was forced, in very preſſing terms, to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the *Swedes* [c]; and, even in this reign, the protector *Cromwell*, had ſhewn the utmoſt contempt for the *French* power at ſea. To ſpeak the truth, it was our wars with the *Dutch*, in the reign of king *Charles* II. that, as the *French* themſelves confeſs, gave them firſt an opportunity of learning, at the expence of the maritime powers, what it was to make a figure on an element with which before they were

[b] Hiſtoire militaire du regne de Louis le Grand, par M. le marquis de Quincy; hiſtoire de France, par P. Daniel. [c] As to this fact, we find it in the cardinal's letters, vol. ii. p. 144.

were little acquainted. This knowledge they ſo far improved, by ſometimes ſiding with the *Dutch*, and ſometimes with us, that in the ſpace of leſs than twenty years, they found themſelves able to encounter either nation, and in 1676, actually beat the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* in the *Mediterranean*, and killed the famous admiral *de Ruyter*[d].

[d] The inquiſitive reader may find a ſuccinct view of the riſe and progreſs of the French naval power, under the reign of Lewis XIV. in the 7 chap. of the xiv. book of father Daniel's hiſtoire de la milite Françoiſe. But, to place this matter in the cleareſt light, and to give the Engliſh reader a competent idea of the French force at ſea, as well as to enable him to judge for himſelf, (which none of our naval writers have done) of the comparative ſtrength of Engliſh and French fleets and ſquadrons, I ſhall here give an exact abſtract of the ſtate of the French fleet, as it ſtood in 1681; and it was yet in a better condition at the beginning of the war, to which recourſe may be had on all occaſions.

ABSTRACT of the FRENCH FLEET.

Rates.	Force.	Number.	Cannon.	Superior Officers.	Naval Officers.	Seamen.	Soldiers	Whole Crew.
1	120 to 70 guns	12	1080	108	1232	4132	2486	7850
2	70 to 56	21	1518	189	1719	4470	2661	8850
3	56 to 40	36	1928	251	2350	6142	3008	11500
4	40 to 30	26	1088	156	1167	2713	1570	5450
5	28 to 18	20	608	119	681	1427	682	2790
Total		115	6222	823	7149	18884	10407	36440
Light frigates 20 to 16		24	400	125	446	937	497	1880
Bomb veſſels and fireſhips		8	74	16	80	160		240
Barks		10	43	20	90	190		280
Flutes		22	341	44	190	447		637
Total		179	7080	1028	7955	20618	10904	39477

Excluſive of thirty gallies, on board which were above thr thouſand men.

At this time, they were grown ſo much ſtronger, that we ſhall ſee them, during a great part of this reign, endeavouring to conteſt the empire of the ſea, againſt the joint forces of both the maritime powers: which is ſufficient to ſhew, with how great diſadvantage king *William* entered into the war, in this reſpect; ſince, while the enemy took all advantages of pouring ſupplies into *Ireland*, his affairs in *England* were ſo perplexed, that it was ſome time before he could provide a force ſufficient to cruize on the coaſt of that iſland.

At laſt, admiral *Herbert*, who commanded the *Engliſh* fleet, in the beginning of the month of *April* 1689, ſailed for *Cork*, with a ſquadron which conſiſted of no more than twelve ſhips of war, one fire-ſhip, two yatchs, and two ſmacks. Here he received information, that king *James* landed at *Kinſale*, about two months before. He then thought it proper to attempt cutting off the convoy that had attended him from *France:* with this view, he ſailed for *Breſt*, and cruized off that port for ſome time; but hearing nothing of the *French* men of war, from the advice boats he daily received, and having encreaſed his force to nineteen ſail, (of which, however, one was but a ſmall frigate) he again ſteered for the *Iriſh* coaſt, and towards the latter end of *April*, appeared off *Kinſale*. On the twenty-ninth of that month, he diſcovered a fleet of forty-four ſail, which he judged were going into *Kinſale*, and therefore did his utmoſt to prevent it. The next day he heard that the enemy were gone into *Baltimore*; but, upon coming thither, found the information falſe. The wind being then eaſterly, he ſtood for *Cape-Clear*, and in the evening, he ſaw them ſtanding into *Bantry Bay*. He lay off that place till morning, and about break of day, reſolved

ſolved to attack the enemy[e]. All our *Engliſh* writers of naval hiſtory agree, that the *French* fleet had ſome empty tranſports under their care; but the *French* writers, who ſhould certainly beſt know what their fleet was doing, ſay poſitively, that they had only four merchant-ſhips laden with arms, bridles, ſaddles, powder, and ball, for the uſe of king *James*'s army, and a conſiderable ſum of money, which was on board the men of war. This they ſhipped as ſoon as they perceived the *Engliſh* fleet, on board ſix fire-ſhips, and ſent theſe, with the merchant-men before-mentioned, to land the ſupply at a place in the bay, ſeven leagues diſtant, while they engaged the *Engliſh*[f] ſquadron, that at all events they might be ſafe.

AUTHORS vary not a little as to the ſtrength of both fleets; which I take to be rather owing to partiality, than any real difficulty there was of coming at the fact. Mr. *Burchet* ſays, the *Engliſh* were but nineteen ſhips in all[g]. Biſhop *Kennet* more truly reckons them twenty-two, wherein he agrees with all the *French* relations[h]. The enemy's fleet conſiſted, according to our accounts, of twenty-eight, according to their own, of twenty-four ſail[i].

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[e] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 416. Lediard's naval hiſtory, p. 623. Columna roſtrata. [f] Hiſtoire militaire, vol. ii. p. 149 [g] See his naval hiſtory as above cited. My reaſon for ſaying what I do, in the text, is my obſerving, that both the accounts may be very well reconciled. Burchet ſpeaking only of the large ſhips, and the other writers of all in general, under admiral Herbert's command [h] See his compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii p. 531. where he tells us, that the Engliſh fleet conſiſted of eight third rates, ten fourth, and two fifth, with two tenders. [i] The marquis de Quincy informs us, that the French fleet conſiſted, excluſive of the veſſels under

The *Engliſh* had certainly the wind, and might therefore have avoided fighting, if they had ſo pleaſed; but this was by no means agreeable to admiral *Herbert*'s temper: he therefore endeavoured all he could to get into the bay, that he might come to a cloſe engagement; but the *French* ſaved him the labour, by bearing down upon him in three diviſions, about ten in the morning on the firſt of *May*. The firſt diviſion conſiſted of eight ſhips, under the command of Mr. *Gaberet*; the ſecond, of the like force, was commanded by admiral *Chateau-Renault*; the third, which was alſo of eight ſhips, had for its commander Mr. *Forant*; the fight was pretty warm for about two hours; but then ſlackened, becauſe a great part of the *Engliſh* fleet could not come up; but they continued firing on both ſides, till about five in the afternoon, admiral *Herbert* keeping out all the time to ſea, becauſe he found the diſpute very unequal, and that there was no other way by which he could poſſibly gain the wind, and thereby an opportunity of bringing his whole fleet to engage. But, about the hour before-mentioned, the *French* fleet ſtood into the Bay, which put an end to the fight. The *Engliſh* writers aſcribe this either to want of courage, or to the admiral's being reſtrained by his orders; but the *French* inform us, that he retired in order to take care of the ſhips under his convoy; and that after they had entirely debarked the ſupply they had brought, he diſpoſed every thing in order to put to ſea the next morning, which he did [k].

THIS

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der their convoy, of fifteen third, and nine fourth rates; and in this, all the French writers agree. [k] It muſt be acknowledged, that the French ſpeak in too high terms of this trivial ſucceſs: the fleet, ſays M. Quincy, was out but

THIS is the battle in *Bantry-Bay*, which, though inconſiderable enough in itſelf, (ſince the *Engliſh*, who had certainly the worſt of it, loſt only one captain, one lieutenant, and ninety-four men, and had about three hundred wounded) is yet magnified by ſome writers, as a mighty action. The *French* had one ſhip, called the *Diamond*, ſet on fire, and two others ſo much damaged, as to be obliged to draw out of the line. The affair was certainly very inconſiderable, and any advantage that was gained, was rather to be aſcribed to a favourable wind, and ſuperior force on one ſide, than to any want either of courage or conduct on the other[1]. After the action, admiral *Herbert* bore away for the *Scilly iſlands*, and having cruized there for ſome time, returned to *Spithead*; upon which occaſion, king *William* himſelf came down to *Portſmouth*, where, to ſhew he would diſtinguiſh and reward merit, though not pointed out to him by ſucceſs, he declared admiral *Herbert*, earl of *Torrington*, and knighted captain *John Aſhby*, of the *Defiance*, and captain *Cloudeſley Shovel*, of the *Edgar*, giving at the ſame time, a bounty of ten ſhillings to each ſeamen, and making a proviſion for the widows of ſuch as had been killed in the action. This was perfectly well judged by king *William*, and was indeed an act of

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but twelve days; in which ſhort ſpace, they landed what they carried, in Ireland, beat the Engliſh fleet, and made ſeven Dutch prizes. On the other hand, our authors are fond of charging ſome miſmanagement on the French admiral: whereas, in truth, he did his duty very exactly; and Quincy, and the other French writers complain, that for want of the fire-ſhips, he was unable to proſecute the advantages he had gained; which ſeems to be matter of fact. [1] The reader may conſult Kennet, Burnet, and Burchet, who have all given their opinions on this ſide the queſtion.

his own, flowing from the knowledge he had of mankind, and the neceſſity there is of keeping up the ſpirits of ſeamen, i. we expect they ſhould perform great things. He ſaid, when he read the account of the battle of *Bantry Bay*, that ſuch actions were neceſſary at the beginning of a war, though they would be raſh in the courſe of it; which ſhews his great penetration, and accounts for his creating admiral *Herbert* a peer, after an affair, in which he had certainly no advantage[m].

THE fleet being at length refitted, the admiral ſailed with it for *Torbay*, in the middle of *June*, where he was afterwards joined by a *Dutch* fleet, and by vice-admiral *Killegrew*'s ſquadron, which had been cruizing before *Dunkirk*. This joint fleet ſtood over to the coaſt of *France*, and continued cruizing there, and in the ſoundings, 'till towards the latter end of *Auguſt*; and being then in great want of beer, and there being no appearance of the *French* putting to ſea, they returned to *Torbay*, where ſoon after the fleet ſeparated; the larger ſhips, which wanted repair, being ordered into port, and the reſt diſtributed into ſeveral ſquadrons, for different ſervices[n]. Before we ſpeak more particularly of theſe, it will be proper to take notice of what was performed by ſome other ſquadrons, which had been detached earlier in the year.

WHEN

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[m] Life of king William. Burchet's memoirs. [n] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 417. Biſhop Burnet complains, that this year there was nothing conſiderable done at ſea; and, according to his manner, inſinuates I know not what of treaſon, or treachery, or ſomething very black in it. But the truth ſeems to be, the funds were late ſettled, and the government itſelf but half ſettled; which occaſioned the fleets being ill mann'd, poorly victualled, and worſe paid.

WHEN king *James* landed in *Ireland*, his affairs had certainly a very promiſing aſpect on that ſide. He brought with him a very conſiderable ſupply, and he found there an army of 40,000 men. There were but two places in the north which held out againſt him, *viz. London-Derry* and *Inneskilling*. Of theſe, he determined to make himſelf maſter, and might eaſily have done it, if he had been well adviſed; but, as biſhop *Burnet* juſtly obſerves, there was a kind of fatality that hung on his councils. He reſolved to begin with *London-Derry*, in reſpect to which, two propoſals were made him; the firſt was, to attack the place vigorouſly, and take it as ſoon as poſſible, by ſtorm; the other, to block up the city, and to act with his great army in ſuch a manner, as might beſt ſuit his intereſt, 'till this place was by dint of famine compelled to ſurrender. Either of theſe methods might have ſucceeded; but king *James* declined theſe, and made choice of a third, which was, to take the place by a ſlow ſiege, in order to enure his *Iriſh* army to fatigues, and to render them by this kind of diſcipline, more fit for ſervice. This reſolution of his, gave time for an application to the government in *England*: and upon this, two regiments of foot, under the command of colonel *Cunningham* and colonel *Richards*, with ſome ſupplies, were ſent thither: they arrived on the fifteenth of *April* in the *Lough*; but colonel *Lundy*, who was governor of the town, being, as it was believed, in king *James*'s intereſt, perſuaded thoſe gentlemen, that it was a thing impracticable to defend the place; and that therefore the beſt thing they could do, was to return and ſecure his majeſty's troops; which they accordingly did. The townſmen, having turned out their governor, however, made a noble

noble defence, which gained time for another application to *England* [o].

DURING this ſpace, commodore *Rooke*, who had been ſent with a ſquadron in the month of *May*, to the coaſt of *Ireland*, performed good ſervice there, by keeping king *James* and his army from having any intercourſe with the *Scots*; and on the eighth of *June*, he ſailed in with the *Bonaventure*, *Swallow*, *Dartmouth*, and a fleet of tranſport-ſhips, under the command of major-general *Kirke*, who was come with this force to relieve *London-Derry*. The commodore concurred with him, as it was his duty, very chearfully in carrying on this ſervice. When they came to examine the method taken by the enemy, to prevent their relieving the place, they found they had laid a boom croſs the river, compoſed of chains and cables, and floated with timber, there being ſtrong redoubts at each end well furniſhed with cannon. Upon a view of this, general *Kirke* reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the *Inch*, an iſland in *Lough Swille*, in which the commodore aſſiſted him ſo effectually, that on the ſixteenth, he was in full poſſeſſion, not only of that iſland, but of the paſs to the main; and having performed this ſervice, he returned to his ſtation [p].

HE continued there till the twenty-ſecond, on which day he received by the *Portland* man of war, a letter from the

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[o] Dr. Walker, who was governor of London-Derry, publiſhed an exact account of the ſiege, under the title of "A true "account of the ſiege of London Derry, London, 4to. 1690. "59 pages." Afterwards he wrote a vindication of this account, and from theſe, Burnet's hiſtory, and the detail I have had from living witneſſes, I report theſe facts. [p] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 418. Columna roſtrata.

the general, wherein he informed him, that being ſatisfied the place was reduced to the laſt extremity, he was determined to attempt its relief at any rate. The commodore upon this, left the *Bonaventure* and *Portland* upon his ſtation, and, with the *Deptford* and *Dartmouth*, he ſailed to the aſſiſtance of the major-general. He ſent the *Dartmouth* up to *Kilmore*, to receive his orders, and then returned to the *Bonaventure* and *Portland*, with intention to continue there 'till the arrival of the three ſhips he expected from the earl of *Torrington*. With this aſſiſtance, major-general *Kirke*, having properly diſpoſed the men of war, on the thirtieth of *July*, ſent *the Mountjoy* of *Derry*, captain *Browning*, and the *Phœnix* of *Colrain*, captain *Douglas*, both deeply laden with proviſions, under the convoy of the *Dartmouth* frigate, to attempt breaking the boom. The enemy made a prodigious fire upon theſe ſhips, as they paſſed, which was very briskly returned, 'till the *Mountjoy* ſtruck againſt the boom, and broke it, and was by the rebound run aſhore; upon this, the *Iriſh* gave a loud huzza, made a terrible fire upon them, and with their boats attempted to board her. But the ſailors firing a broadſide, however, the ſhock looſened her ſo, that they floated again, and paſſed the boom, as did the *Phœnix* alſo, under cover of the *Dartmouth*'s fire. This ſeaſonable ſupply, ſaved the remains of the garriſon, which, after a hundred and five days cloſe ſiege, and being reduced from ſeven thouſand five hundred, to four thouſand three hundred, had ſubſiſtance for only two days left, the enemy raiſing the ſiege on the laſt of *July* [q].

Com-

[q] Dr. Walker's account, p. 33. which agrees exactly with the French relation of the ſiege by Quincy, hiſt. milit. vol. ii. p. 233.

COMMODORE *Rooke*, on the thirteenth of *Auguſt*, convoyed the duke of *Schomberg*'s army, conſiſting of upwards of ten thouſand men, horſe and foot, embarked in ninety veſſels of ſeveral ſorts, and landed them ſafe near *Carrickfergus*, whither he brought the remainder of the army, and the artillery; and then continued with the general, till he had taken the town, and had no further occaſion for his aſſiſtance. He next ſtationed as many ſhips and yatchs of his ſquadron, as he thought requiſite for maintaining the correſpondence between *England* and *Ireland*, and preventing any attempt that might be made by *French* or *Scots* privateers. He ſailed next with a few ſhips that were remaining, to *Dublin*, where he inſulted the city, by manning his boats, and making a ſhew of landing; and on the eighteenth of *September*, he actually endeavoured to burn all the veſſels that were in the harbour; and had certainly performed it, if the wind had not veered about, and blew a freſh gale, as the yatchs and ketches were going in, which obliged him to abandon his deſign, and to put to ſea. King *James* was at this time in the place, and an eye-witneſs of this bold attempt. From *Dublin*, commodore *Rooke* ſailed to *Corke*, where he alſo attempted going into the harbour; but was prevented by the brisk fire the enemy made

233. Biſhop Burnet accuſes (though without reaſon) major-general Kirke, for not relieving them ſooner. Indeed there is no eſcaping this prelate's reſentment; for if an officer miſcarries, 'tis through his own ill conduct; and if he ſucceeds, he might have done it ſooner, had he been hearty. The truth is, the general thought the buſineſs impracticable, but was determined to make ſome attempt, when he underſtood the beſieged fatted their dogs on the bodies of the ſlain Iriſh, and then killed thoſe animals, and eat them themſelves. See Kennet, life of king William.

made from their batteries, on which were mounted ſeventeen or eighteen pieces of cannon. He took poſſeſſion, however, of the great iſland, and might have done further ſervices, if his ſhips had not by this time grown foul, and his proviſions low; which forced him to quit his ſtation, and repair to the *Downs*, where he arrived on the thirteenth of *October*, after having given by his activity, vigilance, and indefatigable attention to his duty in this expedition, an earneſt of the great things, which he afterwards performed when ſir *George Rooke*, and admiral in chief of the *Britiſh* fleet[r].

As to the remaining ſervices of this year, they were not either many or great; and therefore I ſhall only mention the taking of two celebrated ſea-officers in the *French* ſervice, *viz.* the celebrated chevalier *de Fourbin*, and the famous *John Bart*. They commanded two ſmall frigates, and under their convoy, ſix rich merchant-men, outward bound. Near the *iſle of Wight*, they were chaſed by two of our fifty gun ſhips, which they engaged very bravely, though they ſay that it was a thing impoſſible for them to avoid being taken. All they aimed at, was, to give their merchant-men time to eſcape, in which they ſucceeded; for while they fought deſperately, the veſſels under their convoy got ſafe into *Rochel*. As for the chevalier *de Fourbin*, and captain *Bart*, they were carried priſoners into *Plymouth*, from whence they not long after found means to eſcape, and get over to *Calais*[s]. For this generous action, the *French* king rewarded each of them with the command

[r] Burchet's naval hiſtory. Kennet. Hiſtory of the reduction of Ireland, p. 39. Lediard. [s] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. ii. p. 232.

mand of a man of war: but our writers of naval hiſtory, have been ſo careleſs, that I cannot find with any certainty, who were the captains that took them. We have indeed a much more particular relation of this affair in *Fourbin*'s memoirs, wherein it is ſaid, they had twenty merchantmen under their convoy; that they fought two long hours; and that one of the *Engliſh* captains was killed in the engagement; but I think the ſtory, as I have given it, is more to be depended upon, as it comes from an unbiaſſed, and at the ſame time a very accurate hiſtorian [t].

In the ſeſſions of parliament, in the winter of 1689, there were many complaints made of the conduct of affairs at ſea, which bore hard on the new commiſſion of admiralty, compoſed of the earl of *Torrington*, the earl of *Carbery*, Sir *Michael Wharton*, Sir *Thomas Lee*, Sir *John Chicheley*, Sir *John Lowther*, and Mr. *Sacheverel*, who, in defence of their own characters, laid open their miſcarriages in the victualling-office, which produced a parliamentary enquiry into that affair, and a reſolution of the houſe of commons, "that ſir *John Parſons*, ſir *Richard Haddock*, admiral "*Stuart*, and Mr. *Nicholas Fenn*, victuallers of the fleet, "ſhould be ſent for, in the cuſtody of the ſerjeant at arms, "to anſwer to the ſaid complaint." But, notwithſtanding an exact ſcrutiny into that affair produced a full diſcovery

[t] The memoirs which paſs under the name of count Fourbin, abound with ſuch exaggerated relations, and therefore I muſt own I ſuſpect their credit. As to the work of the marquis de Quincy, it is one of the beſt in its kind, written with care and exactneſs, from good authorities; and for this reaſon, the authors of modern memoirs, ſuch as thoſe of marſhal Villars, the duke of Berwick, and M. de Gué Trouin, tranſcribe it continually.

very of great miſchiefs, occaſioned by the bad victualling of the fleet, yet the ſpirit raiſed againſt the adminiſtration grew ſo ſtrong, that it was thought neceſſary for the earl of *Torrington* to reſign his office of firſt commiſſioner, to allay it; and he was ſucceeded therein by *Thomas* earl of *Pembroke*, which anſwered the end effectually, and gave the nation great ſatisfaction [u].

I ſhall open the naval tranſactions of 1690, with an account of admiral *Ruſſel*'s ſailing into the *Mediterranean*, though this is, generally ſpeaking, accounted a tranſaction of the former year; but my reaſon for placing it here, is the not ſailing of the fleet 'till the ſpring, though orders were given for it in the preceding winter. His catholick majeſty, *Charles* II. having eſpouſed a princeſs of the houſe of *Neubourg*, ſiſter to the reigning empreſs, and to the queen of *Portugal*, demanded an *Engliſh* fleet to convoy her ſafely to his dominions, which was readily granted; and indeed ſuch a compliment never had been refuſed even to ſtates in war with us, becauſe it was taken as a tacit confeſſion of our dominion at ſea; which might, methinks, have ſecured it from biſhop *Burnet*'s cenſure [w]. On the twenty-fourth of *November*, admiral *Ruſſel* ſailed with ſeven large men of war, and two yatchs, to *Fluſhing*, in order to receive her catholic majeſty, and her attendants; and had orders, as ſoon as the queen came on board, to hoiſt the

[u] Kennet, Burnet, Pointer's chronological hiſtory, &c. [w] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 43. The propriety of this piece of complaiſance, will more clearly appear, if we conſider, that it obliged the houſe of Auſtria; was a proper return for the aſſiſtance given king William by that queen's relations; and was beſides, as things were then circumſtanced, a neceſſary and important ſervice to the grand alliance.

union flag at the main-top-maſt head, and to wear it there as long as her majeſty was on board. On the eighteenth of *January*, 1690, ſhe arrived in the *Downs*; on the twenty-fourth, ſhe came to St. *Helens*, whither their majeſties, king *William* and queen *Mary*, ſent the duke of *Norfolk* to complement her, as did their royal highneſſes the prince and princeſs of *Denmark*, the lord *Cornbury*, and colonel *Berkley*[x]. The admiral had orders to put to ſea with the firſt fair wind, and was inſtructed to block up the harbour of *Toulon*, in order to prevent the *French* ſquadron there from coming out; and he endeavoured it in the beginning of *February*, and again towards the end of the month, but was forced back to *Torbay*, on the twenty-third. Thence he ſailed again in a few days, but was driven back on the ſecond of *March*. At laſt he ſailed with a pretty fair wind, on the ſeventh of that month, with a ſtout ſquadron of thirty men of war, under his command, and a fleet of four hundred merchant-men, bound for the ſtreights; and after a very tempeſtuous paſſage, landed her catholick majeſty on the ſixteenth, at the *Groyne*; from whence he ſailed to execute his other commiſſion, but was forced by contrary winds into the harbour of *Ferrol*, where the *Duke*, a ſecond rate man of war, in a brisk gale of wind, ran aſhore, and was with great difficulty got off. The admiral, having executed his commiſſion, and having left vice-admiral *Killegrew*, with the *Mediterranean* ſquadron, behind him, bore away with the firſt fair wind for *England*, and

[x] Kennet, Life of king William; Pointer's chronological hiſtory.

and arrived at *Portſmouth*, on the twenty-eighth of *April*, where he landed ſeveral perſons of quality who had attended her catholick majeſty in her voyage[y].

THE reader will eaſily diſcern, from this account of the matter, that admiral *Ruſſel* performed as much as the roughneſs of the ſeaſon, and other circumſtances conſidered, could be expected from him. Biſhop *Burnet* however, ſuggeſts, that if it had not been for the care he was obliged to take of the queen of *Spain*, he might have blocked up the *Toulon* ſquadron in port, and thereby prevented the misfortune that afterwards happened to our grand fleet[z]; but I doubt, if we examine this to the bottom, it will be found a mere conjecture, and that too, not very well founded. We have before obſerved, with how great difficulty admiral *Ruſſel* got with his fleet out to ſea, and how late it was in the year. We have likewiſe mentioned the great fleet of merchant-men under his convoy; and taking theſe circumſtances together, we may eaſily diſcern the reaſon of the *Toulon* ſquadron's coming out, which was in the beginning of the month of *May*, without placing any thing to the account of the compliment paid to the queen of *Spain*, which as I before obſerved, was a thing equally for the honour and intereſt of *Britain*; and the conſciouſneſs of this was what induced me to enter thus far into the juſtification of vice-admiral *Ruſſel*'s conduct.

VICE-admiral *Killegrew* arrived at *Cadiz* on the eighth of *April*, where having, according to his inſtructions, taken all poſſible care of the trade, and having been joined

[y] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 421, 422. Kennet, Columna roſtrata. [z] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. ubi ſupra.

by two *Dutch* men of war, the *Guelderland* and *Zurickzee*, he was next to proceed from thence in order to attend the motions of the *Toulon* ſquadron. In this, however, he met with no ſmall difficulty, by reaſon of the ſtormy weather, which injured ſeveral ſhips of his ſquadron extremely, and the two *Dutch* ſhips, one of ſeventy-two, and the other of ſixty-two guns, after loſing all their maſts, except a mizen, foundered. In repairing theſe unlucky accidents, a great deal of time was waſted; and ſo much the more through the coldneſs and inactivity of the governor of *Cadiz*, who, for his negligence in this reſpect, was juſtly ſuſpected of being in the *French* intereſt. Before things, through theſe diſadvantages, could be brought into perfect order, the vice-admiral, on the ninth of *May*, received three different accounts of the *Toulon* ſquadron's being at ſea. Upon this, he held a council of war, wherein it was reſolved, that purſuant to his inſtructions, he ſhould immediately put to ſea, in order to go in ſearch of it. On the tenth of *May*, about four in the morning, he ſailed accordingly, with nine *Engliſh*, and two *Dutch* ſhips, and arrived the next day in the mouth of the *Streights*, where he was joined by captain *Shelton*, and his detachment, from the bay of *Gibraltar*, and at the ſame time received intelligence, that the *French* fleet was in the bay of *Tetuan*, thither he ſailed in queſt of them; his fleet conſiſting now of one ſecond rate, three third rates, ſix fourth rates, two fifth rates, in all, twelve men of war, and two fire-ſhips, beſides five *Dutch* men of war. On his arrival in *Tetuan-Bay*, he found only two ſhips, one at anchor and the other under ſail; the latter put out *Algerine* colours, and eſcaped; but the former being embayed, was taken by the *Dutch*,

vice

vice-admiral *Allemonde*, and proved to be a *French* ſhip bound for the *Weſt-Indies*.[a]

THE wind ſhifting, the admiral ſtood over again towards the *Spaniſh* coaſt, and being two leagues W. N. W. off *Ceuta* point, the man at the maſt-head ſaw ten ſhips to the north, with their heads lying eaſtwards. Upon this, advice was given to the *Dutch* admiral, and the *Montague* was ſent a-head to diſcover the enemies motions; the fleet ſtill continuing to ſtretch over to *Gibraltar*. About one o'clock, they were within two miles of the *French* ſquadron, which appeared to be on the run, and therefore our ſhips ſet their top-gallant ſails, and crouded after them; but to little purpoſe, for the *French* being all clean ſhips, juſt come out of port (whereas ſome of ours had been ſeventeen months off the ground) it is no wonder they got clear of them. The chace was continued till the next day, when the enemy were four leagues a-head, and the *Dutch* and one of the *Engliſh* ſhips as much a-ſtern, inſomuch, that the admiral had with him no more than four ſhips, which induced him to give over the chace; yet, between nine and ten in the morning, the *Richmond* and the *Tyger* forced one of the merchant-ſhips on ſhore to the weſtward of *Tariffa*. About three in the afternoon, the whole fleet joined, and the admiral bore away for *Cadiz*.[b]

THE *French* writers have done their beſt to give this retreat the air of a victory: one of them tells us, that Mr. *Chatteau-Renault*, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the enemy, ordered all the merchant-ſhips under his con-

[a] Burchet's memoirs, 8vo. 1703, p. 37. Columna roſtrata.
[b] Burchet's memoirs, p. 37. Naval hiſtory, p. 434.

voy, to ſail before, while he remained with his ſquadron of eight men of war, between them and the *Engliſh*; and that after this, perceiving one of the veſſels, which was a very bad ſailor, had fallen behind, he lay by 'till ſhe paſſed him, and then, perceiving the *Engliſh* ſquadron did not incline to engage, he continued his courſe [c]. But father *Daniel*, who piques himſelf ſo much upon his veracity, carries the thing ſtill farther; he ſays, that on the twentieth of *May*, N. S. the *French* admiral, with ſeven ſhips under his command, diſcovered near the Streights of *Gibraltar*, a ſquadron of twenty-three *Engliſh* and *Dutch* men of war. He immediately prepared for battle, and ſailed towards them. This boldneſs of his ſurprized them ſo much, that they had not courage to attack him; and the count, after waiting for two of his ſhips that were heavy ſailors, and for ſome merchant-men that were willing to ſecure themſelves under his convoy, continued his route towards *Breſt*, without the leaſt oppoſition [d]. There is ſomething ſo very improbable, not to ſay extravagant, in this ſtory, that there wanted nothing but the hiſtorian's reflection to render it perfectly ridiculous. He concludes this tedious detail, with obſerving, "that the very enemy "themſelves could not but admire the ability and intrepi- "dity of the count de *Chatteau-Renault*." Such flouriſhes are ſo natural to theſe authors, that, after a very few inſtances, I ſhall content myſelf with a bare relation of them, and leave their credit to the candid conſideration of every impartial reader.

IT was the twenty-firſt of *May*, before vice-admiral *Killegrew*

[c] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. ii. p. 319. [d] Hiſtoire de France, tom. x. p. 155.

Killegrew could reach the port of *Cadiz*, where having made the neceſſary detachments for the ſafe convoy of our homeward bound merchant-men, he, in purſuance of his inſtructions, ſet ſail for *England*, and in thirty-five days arrived at *Plymouth*, with one ſecond, and four third rates of ours, ſix *Dutch* men of war, the *Half-Moon*, and *Virgin* prize. On his arrival at *Plymouth*, he received letters from the lords of the admiralty, informing him, that the *French*, after an engagement, had obliged our fleet to retire, and were with their own about *Rye*, *Dover*, and thoſe parts, and therefore he was to take all imaginable care of his ſquadron. Upon this, he called a council of war, at which were preſent the *Dutch* admirals, *Allemonde* and *Evertzen*, and ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, rear-admiral of the *Red*, then juſt rerurned from the *Iriſh* coaſt. Upon mature deliberation, they determined it was ſafeſt to proceed with the ſhips into *Hamoze*, within *Plymouth-Sound*: for, as they were large ſhips, they could not run in at low water, and as they were in want of water, proviſions, and ſea-ſtores, it was impoſſible for them to put to ſea; ſo that this was the only way left to be ſecure from any attempts of the *French*[c].

THE *French* had been very induſtrious this year, in ſending a large fleet to ſea, and that early in the ſeaſon; for on the firſt or ſecond of *March*, they embarked a great ſupply for *Ireland*, under the convoy of a ſquadron of thirty-ſix men of war, which ſailed on the ſeventh of the ſame month, attended by four fire-ſhips, and five flutes, and were afterwards joined by another ſquadron from *Provence*,

[c] Burchet's memoirs, and naval hiſtory, as before cited.

Provence, with ſeveral tranſports; ſo that in all, they convoyed over ſix thouſand men, beſides ammunition and money. Part of theſe they landed on the eleventh, at *Kinſale*, and the reſt on the thirteenth, in the bay of *Cork*. On the eighth of *April*, they left the coaſts of that iſland, in order to return into the road of *Breſt*, which they did ſafely on the twenty-third, and then prepared to join their grand fleet, which had orders to aſſemble under the command of count de *Tourville*. [f]

WHILE the *French* were thus employed, our councils were chiefly bent on ſending over a royal army, to be com-

[f] Hiſtoire Militaire, tom. ii p. 315, 316, 317. One may juſtly wonder, how the French could be able to fit out, not only a greater fleet than we, but with greater expedition too. In order to account for this, I ſhall offer to the reader's conſideration, ſome matters of fact, ſet down by captain George St. Lo, who was at this time a priſoner in France, and ſaw this very armament made. "When I was firſt brought priſoner "thither, ſays he, I lay four months in an hoſpital at Breſt, "for cure of my wounds, and was ſent to Nants, before half "cured. While I was at Breſt, I was aſtoniſhed at the expe- "dition uſed in manning and fitting out their ſhips, which till "then, I thought could be done no where ſooner than in Eng- "land, where we have ten times the ſhipping, and conſe- "quently ten times more ſeamen than they have in France; "but there I ſaw twenty ſail of ſhips of about ſixty guns each, "got ready in twenty days time: they were brought in and "the men diſcharged, and upon an order from Paris, they "were careened, keeled up, rigged, victualled, manned, and "out again in the ſaid time, with the greateſt eaſe imaginable, "I likewiſe ſaw a ſhip of one hundred guns, had all her guns "taken out there in four or five hours time, which I never "ſaw done in England in twenty four hours, and this with "greater eaſe, and leſs hazard, than here. which I ſaw under "the hoſpital window; and this I am ſure I could do as eaſily "in England". England's ſafety; or a bridle to the French king. London, 4to. 1693, p. 18. 19.

commanded by king *William* in perſon to *Ireland*. This great deſign was brought to bear, about the beginning of the month of *June*, when his majeſty left *London* to march toward the coaſt, where he embarked his forces on board two hundred eighty-eight tranſports on the eleventh, and under the convoy of a ſquadron of ſix men of war, commanded by ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, ſailed for *Carrickfergus*, where he ſafely arrived on the fourteenth of the ſame month, and ſoon after diſmiſſed rear-admiral *Shovel*, with the *Plymouth* ſquadron, with orders to join the grand fleet; which, as we have before ſhewn, he could not do, till it was too late [g].

THERE was nothing better underſtood in *England*, than the abſolute neceſſity of aſſembling early in the year, a ſtrong fleet in the channel. The honour of the kingdom depended upon it; for the *French*, after their ſmall advantage in *Bantry-Bay*, had given out, that they would the next ſummer inſult the joint fleets of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. What was ſtill more, the nation's ſafety depended on this meaſure no leſs, ſince the king, and the greateſt part of his forces were abroad. Scarce ſeven thouſand regular troops left in *England*; and ſuch as were in the intereſt of king *James*, almoſt every where in motion, and waiting, in all appearance, for nothing but the ſight of a *French* fleet on the coaſt, to take up arms, and declare againſt the government. Yet, for all this, our proceedings were very ſlow, for which, various, and ſome ſcarce credible,

g Kennet's compleat hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 558. Burnet, Burchet, Columna roſtrata, life of king William.

credible, cauſes are aſſigned. It was given out, that the greateſt part of the fleet was diſaffected; and to wipe of this ſuggeſtion, it was thought neceſſary that an addreſs ſhould be ſent up from the *Downs*, which was accordingly done. On the other hand, it was late before the *Dutch* ſent their fleet to ſea, and the *Engliſh* knowing that nothing of conſequence could be done, 'till after their junction, were the leſs ſollicitous about putting themſelves in order, 'till they heard of their being at ſea [h].

THE conduct of the *French*, in the mean time, was of quite another kind; for while the ſquadron before-mentioned was gone to *Ireland*, orders were given for equipping a fleet of ſixty ſail at *Breſt*, which was to put to ſea by the end of *May*: this they actually did, and though they were forced by contrary winds, to put back again to that road, yet on the twelfth of *June*, they put to ſea in three ſquadrons, each ſquadron being divided into three diviſions. Of theſe, the *White* and *Blue* ſquadron, commanded by Count *d'Eſtrees*, on board the *Le Grande*, a ſhip of eighty-ſix guns, formed the vanguard, conſiſting of twenty-ſix men of war. The main body was compoſed of the *White* ſquadron, commanded by the admiral count *Tourville*, in the *Royal Sun*, a ſhip of one hundred guns; this ſquadron conſiſted likewiſe of twenty-ſix ſail; the *Blue* ſquadron made the rear-guard, commanded by Mr. *D'Amfreville*, in the *Magnificent*; a ſhip of eighty guns, and in this ſquadron there were but twenty-five ſail. In all there were ſeventy-eight men of war, twenty-two fire-ſhips, and the whole fleet carried upwards of four thouſand ſeven hundred

[h] Kennet, vol. iii. p. 561. Burnet, Burchet, Quincy, &c.

hundred pieces of cannon. On the thirteenth of *June*, they ſteered for the *Engliſh* coaſt, and on the twentieth found themſelves off the *Lizard*. The next day, the admiral took ſome *Engliſh* fiſhing boats, and after having paid the people, who were on board, for their fiſh, he ſet them at liberty again, and theſe were the men, ſuch was our ſupineneſs! that firſt brought advice of the arrival of the *French* fleet on our coaſt; while ours was lying idle and ſcarce in a condition to put to ſea, as biſhop *Burnet* very juſtly obſerves[i].

OUR admiral, the earl of *Torrington*, was at St. *Helens*, when he received this news, which muſt have ſurprized him very much, ſince he was ſo far from expecting any account of this kind, that he had not any ſcouts out to the weſtward[k]. He put to ſea, however, with ſuch ſhips as he had, and ſtood to the ſouth-eaſt, on *Midſummer* day, leaving his orders, that all the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips which could have notice, ſhould follow him. This ſhews how much he was confuſed, and how little notion he had of a ſpeedy engagement; and indeed it was impoſſible that he ſhould have framed any proper ſcheme of action, when he had no certain account of the ſtrength of the *French*. In the evening he was joined by ſeveral ſhips, and the next morning he found himſelf within ſight of the enemy. The *French* landed, and made ſome priſoners on ſhore, and by them, ſent a letter from ſir *William Jennings*, an officer in the navy, who had followed the fortunes of king *James*, and

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[i] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. ii. p. 318, 319. Kennet, p. 562. Burnet, Memoires hiſtoriques, &c.

[k] Kennet, p. 562. Burnet, p. 39. Burchet, Columna roſtrata, life of king William.

and ſerved now as third captain on board the *Admiral*, promiſing pardon to all ſuch captains, as would now adhere to that prince[l]. The next day our admiral received another reinforcement of ſeven *Dutch* men of war, under the command of admiral *Evertzen*; however, the fleets continued looking upon each other for ſeveral days[m]. It is certain, that the earl of *Torrington* did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to venture an engagement, and in all probability the reſt of the admirals, *viz. Ralph Delaval*, eſq; vice-admiral of the *Red*; *Edward Ruſſel*, eſq; admiral of the *Blue*; ſir *John Aſhby* vice-admiral of the ſame ſquadron; and *George Rooke*, eſq; rear-admiral of the *Red*, were of the like opinion[n]. Beſides, he waited for ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, rear-admiral of the *Blue*, who was to have joined him with the *Plymouth* ſquadron and ſome other ſhips[o].

His whole ſtrength, as far as I have been able to compute it, conſiſted of about thirty-four men of war of ſeveral ſizes, and the three *Dutch* admirals had under their command, twenty-two large ſhips. We need not wonder, therefore, that ſeeing himſelf out-numbered by above twenty ſail, he was not willing to riſk his own honour, and the nation's ſafety, upon ſuch unequal terms. But, the queen, who was then regent, having been informed that her father's adherents intended a general inſurrection, and that if the *French* fleet continued longer on the coaſt, this

[l] Burchet's memoirs, p. 46. See likewiſe a pamphlet publiſhed about that time, entitled, The late plot on the fleet detected, with the Jacobites memorial, &c. London, 1690, 4to.
[m] Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Columna roſtrata, life of king William. [n] Naval hiſtory, p. 634. [o] Burchet's memoirs, p. 44.

this would certainly take effect; by advice of the privy council, ſent him orders to fight at all events, in order to force the *French* fleet to withdraw [p]. In obedience to this order, as ſoon as it was light, on the 30th of *June*, the admiral gave a ſignal for drawing into a line, and bore down upon the enemy, while they were under ſail, by a wind with their heads to the northward [q].

THE ſignal for battle was made about eight, when the *French* braced their head-ſails to their maſts, in order to lay by. The engagement began about nine, when the *Dutch* ſquadron, which made the van of the united fleets, fell in with the van of the *French*, and put them into ſome diſorder. About half an hour after, our *Blue* ſquadron engaged their rear very warmly; but the *Red*, commanded by the earl

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[p] Biſhop Kennet, in his compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 562. entertains us with a ſucceinct account of this jacobite plot, which it is neceſſary to tranſcribe, that the reader may have ſome conception of thoſe reaſons that induced the queen and her council, to ſend the admiral orders to fight. "It was "agreed, ſays he, that while part of the French fleet ſhould "bear up the Thames, the Jacobites in London, who were "grown very bold and numerous, by the flocking of that party "from all parts of the country thither, ſhould have made an "inſurrection, and have ſeized the queen and her chief mini-"ſters. Then certain perſons were to have taken upon them "the adminiſtration of affairs, 'till the return of king James, "who was to leave the command of his army to his generals, "and haſten with all ſpeed into England; the other part of the "French fleet having joined their gallies, was to have landed "eight thouſand men at Torbay, with arms for a greater num-"ber. After which, the gallies and men of war were to ſail "into the Iriſh ſea, to hinder the return of king William and "his forces; and the diſcontented Scotch were to have revolt-"ed at the ſame time, in ſeveral parts of that kingdom."

[q] Burchet's memoirs, p. 36. Naval hiſtory, p. 426. Columna roſtrata.

earl of *Torrington* in perſon, which made the center of our fleet, could not come up till about ten; and this occaſioned a great opening between them and the *Dutch*. The *French*, making uſe of this advantage, ſurrounded the latter, who defended themſelves very gallantly, though they ſuffered extremely from ſo unequal a diſpute. The admiral ſeeing their diſtreſs, endeavoured to relieve them; and while they dropt their anchors, (the only method they had left to preſerve themſelves) he drove with his own ſhip, and ſeveral others, between them and the enemy; and in that ſituation, anchored about five in the afternoon, when it grew calm; but perceiving how much the *Dutch* had ſuffered, and how little probability there was of regaining any thing by renewing the fight, he weighed about nine at night, and retired eaſtward with the tide of flood [r].

THE next day it was reſolved in a council of war, held in the afternoon, to endeavour to preſerve the fleet, by retreating, and rather to deſtroy the diſabled ſhips, if they ſhould be preſſed by the enemy; than to hazard another engagement, by endeavouring to protect them. This reſolution was executed with as much ſucceſs as could be expected; which, however, was chiefly owing to want of experience in the *French* admirals; for by not anchoring when the *Engliſh* did, they were driven to a great diſtance, and

[r] Theſe particulars are taken from a very authentick pamphlet, the title of which runs thus; The account given by ſir John Aſhby, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral Rooke, to the lords commiſſioners, of the engagement at ſea, between the Engliſh, Dutch, and French fleets, June the thirtieth, 1690. With a journal of the fleet ſince their departure from St. Helen's, to their return to the Buoy in the Nore, and other material paſſages relating to the ſaid engagement. London, printed for Randal Taylor, 1691, 4to. p. 32.

and by purſuing in a line of battle, inſtead of leaving every ſhip at liberty to do her utmoſt, they could never recover what they loſt by their firſt miſtake[s]. But notwithſtanding all this, they continued their purſuit as far as *Rye* bay, and forced one of our men of war of ſeventy guns, called the *Anne*, which had loſt all her maſts, on ſhore near *Winchelſea*; they ſent in two ſhips to burn her, which the captain prevented, by ſetting fire to her himſelf. The body of the *French* fleet ſtood in and out of the bays of *Bourne* and *Pemſey*, in *Suſſex*, while about fourteen of their ſhips anchored near the ſhore. Some of theſe attempted to burn a *Dutch* ſhip of ſixty-four guns, which at low water lay dry; but her commander defended her ſo briskly every high water, that they were at length forced to deſiſt, and the captain carried her ſafe into *Holland*[t].

Our loſs in this unlucky affair, if we except reputation, was not ſo great as might have been expected; not above two ſhips, two ſea captains, two captains of marines, and three hundred and fifty private men. The *Dutch* were much more unfortunate, becauſe more thoroughly engaged. Beſides three ſhips ſunk in the fight, they were obliged to ſet fire to three more that were ſtranded on the coaſt of *Suſſex*; in all, ſix ſhips of the line. They loſt likewiſe abundance of gallant officers, particularly their rear-admirals, *Dick* and *Brakel*, and captain *Nordel*, with a great number

[s] Burchet's memoirs, p. 47. Naval hiſtory, p. 427. The fact is likewiſe acknowledged by the marquis de Quincy, and other French writers. [t] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 427. I have been at ſome pains to diſcover the name of this ſhip, and of its gallant captain. The former I find to have been Demaes, and the latter Couvient. As I have my information from a Frenchman, I doubt whether the names are ſpelt right.

number of inferior officers and ſeamen [u]. Yet, even this misfortune contributed to raiſe their reputation at ſea, ſince, as ſoon as the *States* received the news of it, they ordered fourteen men of war to be built and put to ſea in as many days; which, as my author ſays, may ſeem incredible to ſuch as are unacquainted with the power of the *Dutch* at that time, and what they were able to do upon extraordinary occaſions [w].

We need not wonder, that a victory gained by the *French* fleet over the joint forces of the maritime powers, ſhould extremely elevate the writers of that nation, who are ſo apt to run out into extravagant flights of panegyrick on much ſlighter occaſions. The marquis de *Quincy* tells us, that the *Dutch* fought with all imaginable bravery; and tacitly acknowledges, that they owed their misfortune to their being ſurrounded by *French* ſhips. He likewiſe owns, that ſuch of the *Engliſh* ſhips as engaged, fought very well; and that the admiral endeavoured to ſuccour the *Dutch*, though he did it with much caution. But then, to enhance the victory as much as poſſible, he aſſerts, that the united fleets were, at leaſt, equal in force to the navy of *France*, though they had fewer ſhips [x]. In this, however, he is certainly miſtaken, as I ſhall convince the reader by undeniable evidence. The *Dutch* ſquadron conſiſted of twenty-two large ſhips, and was by much, the moſt formidable of the whole fleet, and yet that ſquadron carried but 1,360 guns; whereas the weakeſt of the *French* ſquadron carried 1,526; and if we ſhould ſuppoſe the united

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[u] Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Columna roſtrata, life of king William [w] Memoirs hiſtoriques, p. 14. [x] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. ii. p. 330.

united fleet to have conſiſted of ſhips of the like force with the *Dutch*, which it is certain they were not, it would then have carried 3,462 guns; whereas the *French* fleet, according to this writer's own account, carried 4,702 y. This is ſufficient to ſhew how little dependance can be had even on the accounts of the faireſt *French* authors. Father *Daniel* has given us two relations of this engagement full of exaggerations z. He tells us, that ſeventeen *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips being diſabled, ran aſhore, and were burnt by their own crew; whereas, in truth, inſtead of the ſeventeen, there were but ſeven. He likewiſe magnifies the conduct of the count de *Tourville*, who would, as he informs us, have entirely deſtroyed the enemy, if they had not had the Advantage of the wind and tide. In the battle indeed, the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had the advantage of the wind; but in their retreat, the wind was equally favourable to the *French*; and as to the advantage of the tide, it was owing to their ſuperior skill in the management of their veſſels; and biſhop *Burnet* very rightly obſerves, that amongſt the beſt judges, the count de *Tourville* was almoſt as much blamed for not making uſe of his victory,

y Theſe computations, ſo far as they regard the French, I have taken from the marquis de Quincy's own book; but as to the Dutch ſquadron, I did not think it fair to make uſe of the liſt he has given us, becauſe I had a more authentic account; by which it appeared, that the Dutch ſquadron was larger by two ſhips, and carried more guns than the marquis de Quincy has ſet down. z We have this account firſt in his hiſtoire de milice François, tom. ii. p. 491. With the addition of a fact altogether groundleſs, viz. That the French fleet after their victory, took a vaſt number of merchant ſhips. He relates the ſame affair more at large in his hiſtoire de France, tom. x. In the hiſtorical journal of the reign of Lewis XIV. p. 155. where he repeats the ſame tale of their taking an infinite number of ſhips.

tory, as the earl of *Torrington* was, on account of his defeat [a].

AFTER the engagement, our fleet retreated towards the river of *Thames*, and the earl of *Torrington* going on ſhore, left the command to ſir *John Aſhby*; but firſt gave orders to captain *Monck* of the *Phœnix*, together with four other fifth rates, and four fireſhips, to anchor above the narrow of the middle-grounds, and to appoint two of the frigates to ride, one at the *Buoy* of the *Spits*, the other at the lower end of the middle; and to take away the buoys, and immediately retreat, if the enemy approached; or, if they preſſed yet farther on him, he was ordered in like manner to take away the buoys near him, and to do what ſervice he could againſt them with the fire-ſhips; but ſtill to retire, and make the proper ſignals in ſuch caſes. On the eighth, the *French* fleet ſtood towards their own coaſt, but were ſeen upon the twenty-ſeventh off the *Berry-Head*, a little to the eaſtward of *Dartmouth*, and then the wind taking them ſhort, they put into *Torbay*. There they lay not long, for they were diſcovered the twenty-ninth near *Plymouth*, at which place the neceſſary preparations were made by platforms, and other works, to give them a warm reception. The fifth of *Auguſt* they appeared again off of the *Ram-Head*, in number between ſixty and ſeventy, when ſtanding weſtward, they were no more ſeen in the channel this year [b].

THE nation, all this time, was in the utmoſt confuſion, from the apprehenſion of a deſcent to be made by the *French*

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[a] As this prelate converſed with all the great men of that time, what he reports, in ſuch caſes as this, deſerves more credit than any of his own reflections. [b] See Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, Columna roſtrata, as before cited.

French, in favour of an inſurrection by the friends of king *James*. The city of *London* ſhewed uncommon zeal for the ſupport of the government, by not only raiſing their militia, conſiſting of about nine thouſand men, but offering to add to theſe, ſix auxiliary regiments, a regiment of horſe, and two of dragoons, to be maintained at their own expence, ſo long as they ſhould be neceſſary. The tinners in *Cornwall*, alſo offered to riſe; and addreſſes of the ſame nature came from other parts, which were very graciouſly received by queen *Mary*; though ſhe did not think fit to make uſe of the propoſed ſuccours. She apprehended, or at leaſt was adviſed by her council, that it would be more effectual to ſeize ſuch perſons of diſtinction, as were known to be in her father's intereſt [c]. This, it is ſuppoſed, had the deſired effect; and induced the *French*, when they ſaw themſelves diſappointed in their expectations of finding numbers ready to take arms on their firſt appearance, to attempt little or nothing to our prejudice, except it was the burning of *Tinmouth*, and three inconſiderable veſſels there; which, however, ſome *French* hiſtorians have repreſented as a glorious enterprize; and, to make their tale hang the better together, have erected fortifications, that were never ſeen; talk of an obſtinate reſiſtance, that was never made; and have converted three fiſhing-ſmacks into four men of war, and eight merchant-ſhips richly laden [d]. The mal-

 contents,

[c] Kennet's compleat hiſtory, vol. iii. p 519. [d] This ſtory of attacking Tinmouth, and the great things performed there, we find both in Quincy and father Daniel, ſo that very probably the tale was forged on board the fleet: for that it was a forgery, no man can doubt, who is acquainted with the town and port of Tinmouth in Devonſhire, and the inconſiderable trade carried on there.

contents, however, gave quite another turn to the inactivity of the *French* fleet: they ſaid, that the *French* king, as an ally to *James* II. would not hurt his country, or plunder it's inhabitants. Over and above theſe precautions, the queen took another, which was ſending over Mr. *Haybord* to the *States General*, to inform them how much her majeſty was concerned at the misfortune that had befallen their ſquadron in the late engagement, and at their not having been ſeconded as they ought to have been. He was likewiſe to inform them, that the queen had given orders for refitting the *Dutch* ſhips that were diſabled, at the nation's expence; and had further directed, that all poſſible care ſhould be taken of the ſick and wounded ſeamen; and that a bounty ſhould be given to the widows of ſuch as had fallen in the action. He was yet farther inſtructed to acquaint the *States*, that twelve large ſhips were fitting out here to join the fleet; and to deſire, that their high-mightineſſes would direct a proportionable reinforcement; which they accordingly did [e].

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[e] That the reader may the better apprehend the reaſons which induced her majeſty to apply in this manner to the Dutch, it will be proper to lay before him an extract from rear-admiral Evertzen's letter, in which he gives an account of the fight.

"The fourth of this month, he joined the Engliſh and Dutch "fleets, riding near the iſle of Wight, with three men of "war: there he underſtood that the French fleet had been "deſcryed, riding in ſeveral places, to the number of eighty-"two men of war, great and ſmall: thereupon it was reſolved "that they ſhould weigh anchor, with a reſolution to find them "out, and obſerve their motion. Before the arrival of admi-"ral Evertzen, it was agreed between the two nations, that "the Hollanders ſhould have the vanguard; which was in ap-"pearance to do them honour, but, at the bottom, to conceal

"Torrington's

As ſoon as the earl of *Torrington* came to town, he was examined before the council; where he juſtified himſelf with great preſence of mind: he ſaid, there were two things to be principally conſidered; the loſs that had been ſuſtained in the fight, and the motives which had induced him to retreat. The firſt, he alledged, was owing to the ill-grounded contempt the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* officers had of the behaviour of the *French* at ſea; and as to the latter, he affirmed, that he had acted according to the rules of prudence, by which he had ſaved the fleet; and that he had much rather his reputation ſhould ſuffer for a time, than his country undergo a loſs, which ſhe might never be able to repair. The council, however, thought proper to commit

" Torrington's deſigns. After they had been under ſail about " two or three hours, they were obliged, by fogs and bad " weather, to come to an anchor; but ſoon after they per- " ceived the French fleet to bear up towards them, with the " wind at eaſt. Immediately they weighed anchor, and en- " deavoured to gain the weather-gage, which they did with " ſuch ſucceſs, that Torrington gave the ſignal for the firſt ſqua- " dron to engage; but the French thought fit to retire. The " ſixth, ſeventh, eighth, and ninth, the two fleets were always " in view of each other; but in regard the French fleet was " much the ſtronger, both for number and bigneſs of ſhips, it " was judged moſt proper not to fight in the open ſea; and Tor- " rington did his part ſo well, that he avoided engaging 'till he " was come off Beachy-head, which was favourable for his " purpoſe: and there it was that he received the queen's or- " ders not to delay engaging, if the wind and the weather " would permit; which was the reaſon, that upon the tenth, " by day break, we went to ſeek the enemy, who expected us " in order of battle; and ſo, by nine o'clock, the engagement " began, between the Blue ſquadron of the French, and the " vanguard of the Dutch; and both ſides fired deſperately for " three hours together, 'till the French ſquadron not liking " their entertainment, bore away with all the tack they could " make: but about one there happened a calm, which not " only

mit his lordſhip to the *Tower*; and that they might ſtill the clamours of the crowd, and give ſome ſatisfaction to the *Dutch*, they directed a committee to repair to *Sheerneſs*, in order to make a thorough enquiry into the real cauſes of this diſaſter f.

THE fleet remained now under the command of ſir *Richard Haddock*, vice-admiral *Killegrew*, and ſir *John Aſhby*, who had orders to put it into the beſt condition poſſible; which they executed with great diligence, and by the latter end of *Auguſt*, had forty-one ſhips of the line under their command, excluſive of the *Dutch*: yet, in ſpight of all their activity, it was very late in the year, before they were able to undertake any effectual ſervice; and by that

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" only prevented the Hollander's purſuit, but put them into " a little diſorder; upon which the French (whom the ſame " calm hindred from getting away) were conſtrained to begin " the fight again, which laſted 'till five o'clock in the evening, " with an incredible fury. As for what concerns the Engliſh, " moſt certainly, unleſs it were ſome few veſſels that fought " againſt Torrington's order, the reſt did nothing at all: ſo " that the main body of the French, fell into the rear of the " Dutch fleet; and having fought from morning till evening, " and defended themſelves ſo long againſt ſuch a prodigious " number of the enemy that aſſailed them on every ſide, they " were ſo battered, that hardly three were capable of making " any defence; which conſtrained them to make their way " through the French fleet, and bear away for the coaſt of Eng- " land, between Beachy and Ferley. Admiral Brakel, Jean Dick, " and captain Nordel were ſlain. The Friezland having loſt " all her maſts, and not to be towed off by reaſon of the calm, " was taken towards the end of the fight. Admiral Evertzen " gave this teſtimony of all the Dutch officers and ſoldiers: " that there was not one that did not exactly perform his duty. " In ſhort, it has not been heard that ever twenty-two ſhips " fought ſo long againſt eighty-two, of which ſeventeen carried " no leſs than from eighty to an hundred guns."

f Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, and the report of the commiſſioners mentioned in the text.

that time, it was neceſſary to lay up the larger ſhips, the remainder being found ſufficient for the embarkation of a body of troops, under the command of the earl of *Marlborough*, whoſe winter expedition ſhall be taken notice of in its proper place. In the mean time let us return to the proceedings of ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, with the ſquadron under his command, which we left, with that of vice-admiral *Killegrew*, in *Plymouth Sound* s.

On the twenty-firſt of *July*, rear-admiral *Shovel* received orders to proceed with the ſhips under his command for *Kinſale*, to intercept ſome *French* frigates that were ſaid to be on that coaſt. Arriving at *Waterford* river, with intention to execute this commiſſion, he received the agreeable news of lieutenant-general *Kirke's* having made himſelf maſter of the town of *Waterford*; but was at the ſame time informed, that *Duncannon* caſtle, which by its ſituation commanded the river, ſtill held out; and that the lieutenant-general, for want of cannon, was not likely to take it. Upon this, conſidering the importance of the place, and that no uſe could be made of the port of *Waterford*, while it remained in the hands of the enemy, he ſent the lieutenant general word, on the twenty-ſeventh of *July*, that he was ready to aſſiſt him, by ſending ſome frigates up the river, and landing all the men he could ſpare out of his ſquadron, under the protection of their guns. Accordingly the next day he ſent in the *Experiment* and the *Greyhound*, two ſmall ſhips, to batter their caſtle; and under their fire, landed between ſix and ſeven hundred men; all the boats of the fleet being employed in this ſervice. The caſtle all this time thundered upon them, though to little purpoſe; but when once general *Bourk*, who commanded there, ſaw

s See Burchet's naval memoirs, p 58.

the men landed, he thought fit to capitulate, and marched out of the caſtle with two hundred and fifty men, with their arms and baggage; leaving to the *Engliſh* the fortreſs, which was furniſhed with forty-two pieces of cannon, a noble reward for one day's hard duty [h]!

AFTER this happy ſucceſs, the rear-admiral ſailed for *Limerick*; where he was informed, the *French* had a conſiderable number of ſhips; but finding ſoon after that the enemy was retired, and that his own ſquadron began to be in want of proviſions and ſea-ſtores, he came thereupon to a reſolution of ſailing to *Plymouth*, where he received a conſiderable reinforcement, with orders to proceed in queſt of the enemy. But theſe orders, which came from the lords of the *Admiralty*, were, on the eighteenth of *September*, countermanded, by a freſh order from the king, directing him to detach ten ſhips into the *Soundings*, for the protection of the trade, and to ſail with the reſt for the *Downs*; which he accordingly did [i].

AFTER the raiſing the ſiege of *Limerick*, king *William* returned into *England*; where, in a council held on the affairs of *Ireland*, which were ſtill in a very precarious condition,

[h] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 432. But there the author has committed a very extraordinary miſtake; for, inſtead of Waterford, he mentions Kinſale, as the city annoyed by Duncannon-caſtle: now that this was really an effect of want of care, and not an error in tranſcribing, appears by comparing his naval hiſtory with its index, and with his naval memoirs, p. 59. where the ſource of this error is ſeen; for there he ſays, that ſir Cloudeſley Shovel being ordered to proceed to Kinſale, received intelligence, when he was near the river of Waterford, that the town had ſurrendered two or three days; that is, the town of Waterford: but in his hiſtory, he has put in, the town of Kinſale was ſurrendered, as if that town had ſtood on the river of Waterford. [i] Burchet's memoirs, p. 59, 60, 61, 62, 63. Kennet, Oldmixon, &c.

dition, many of the great cities, and moſt of the convenient ports being ſtill held for king *James*, the earl of *Marlborough* propoſed a plan for the immediate reduction of that iſland: he obſerved, that our fleet was now at ſea, and that of the *French* returned to *Breſt*; in which ſituation, therefore, there was nothing to be feared in relation to deſcents. He further remarked, that there were at leaſt five thouſand land-forces lying idle in *England*, which might be embarked on board the fleet, even in this late ſeaſon of the year, and perform conſiderable ſervice. The king readily accepted this offer, gave the command of the troops to the earl of *Marlborough*, and ſent orders to the admirals to ſend the great ſhips about to *Chatham*, and to take on board the remainder of the fleet, the forces ordered for this ſervice [k].

THE admirals hoiſted their flag on board the *Kent*, a third rate; and having embarked the troops with all imaginable expedition, arrived with them before the harbour of *Cork*, on the twenty-firſt of *September*, in the afternoon. The next day they attempted to enter, but were for ſome time prevented by the fire of a ſmall battery of five guns; from which, however, the *Iriſh* were ſoon driven, by two or three boats full of brave fellows, and then the whole fleet got into the harbour without interruption. On the twenty-third, the forces were landed, and joined a body of between three and four thouſand men, under the command of the duke of *Wirtemberg*; who, by an ill-timed diſpute about the command, had like to have ruined the whole expedition. The earl of *Marlborough*, as the elder lieute-

[k] Kennet, Burnet's hiſtory of his own times. Life of the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene. Hiſtory of the war in Ireland.

lieutenant-general, and commanding the troops that were principals, had, according to all the rules of war, a right to it; but the duke of *Wirtemberg* inſiſted on his being a prince, which, at laſt, however, he was content to wave, and to conſent they ſhould command alternately. The city of *Cork* was very well fortified, and had in it a body of four thouſand men: but the earl of *Marlborough* having obſerved that the place was commanded by an adjacent hill, he ordered a battery to be erected there on the twenty-fourth, which was performed with great expedition by five or ſix hundred ſeamen, carpenters, *&c.* and after playing on the town for a few hours, made ſo conſiderable a breach, that on the twenty-fifth the generals reſolved to attack it; in which they were aſſiſted by ten pinnaces, manned by ſeamen, well armed with hand-granadoes from the fleet. The beſieged was ſo terrified at this, that it was eaſily diſcerned the ſiege would not continue long; and indeed the *Iriſh* inſtantly capitulated [1]. But the very next day the fleet received

[1] We have a very fair account of this matter, both in Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, and in biſhop Kennet's compleat hiſtory: yet neither of thoſe prelates were enough maſter of the ſubject, to give their readers a proper idea of this extraordinary affair. The earl of Marlborough's expedition, all circumſtances conſidered, was, beyond compariſon, the moſt ſucceſsful undertaking in the whole reign of king William; and even the reduction of Cork, was ſuch a mark of penetration, as king William never forgot; ſince it depended entirely on his lordſhip's conſidering the ſituation of the place, and obſerving that all the pains taken in fortifying it, were thrown away. If king James's French generals had underſtood as much, they would not have put four thouſand men, and ſome of their beſt officers into ſuch a place; and on the other hand, if king William's foreign officers had joined the light of genius to the knowledge they had acquired by experience, they would not have informed the king as they did, that the place could not be taken in leſs than ſix weeks, even by a regular ſiege.

received orders to retire, which they did, leaving a ſquadron under the command of the duke of *Grafton*, to aſſiſt the general; but that brave nobleman having received a wound in the ſhoulder in the attack before-mentioned, died within a few days, when the command devolved upon captain *Mathew Tenant*, who was blown up in the *Breda* in *Cork* harbour; and then it fell to captain *Crofts*, who attended the earl of *Marlborough* till after the reduction of *Kinſale*, as well as *Cork*, which ſurrendered on the fifteenth of *October*, and then brought over the victorious general, who was preſented to his maſter at *Kenſington*, on the twenty-eighth of that month, after having atchieved in a very few weeks, more than all the foreign generals had been able to do ſince the beginning of the war in *Ireland* [m].

THE fleet arrived in the *Downs* on the eighth of *October*, bringing over with them, by the earl of *Marlborough*'s deſire, the governor of *Cork*, and ſeveral perſons of quality, who were made priſoners when that city was taken. There the admirals received orders to divide the fleet into ſmall ſquadrons for ſeveral ſervices, and leave only a ſtrong ſquadron in the *Downs*, under the command of ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, who cruized the remaining part of the year in the *Soundings*, without any ſucceſs remarkable enough to deſerve notice, except that the *Deptford* and the *Crown*, two ſmall ſhips, took a ſmall *French* men of war, called the *Fripon*, commanded by captain St. *Marca*, one of the briskeſt officers in the *French* ſervice. She carried but eighteen guns, and ten pattereroes, and but a little before had engaged

[m] Burchet's memoirs, p. 56, 57, 58. Hiſtorical and political mercury, for the month of November, 1690, wherein there is an excellent account of this expedition, and very judicious remarks on its conſequences.

engaged four *Dutch* privateers, whom ſhe obliged to ſheer off, though with the loſs of thirty men killed and wounded: yet now notwithſtanding her force was ſo much weakned, ſhe fought till her captain and lieutenants were deſperately wounded, and her maſter killed; nor did ſhe yield at laſt, till her main-maſt was ſhot away by the *Crown*, and ſhe boarded by the crew of that ſhip. When the rear-admiral had ended his cruize, he ſent ſome of his ſhips to the coaſt of *Ireland*, others into the *Soundings*, and returned with the reſt into the *Downs* [n]; and thus ended the naval operations for this year.

We ought next to proceed to the *Weſt-Indies*, where, within the compaſs of this year, there paſſed many things worthy of notice; but as the critical obſervation of time, in this caſe, would neceſſarily occaſion a great deal of perplexity in the narration, and force us to conſider it in ſuch a manner, as muſt render it very obſcure, as well as very inconnected, we ſhall therefore refer the hiſtory of the naval tranſactions there, to that period in which they were compleated, and ſo take in the whole together, uniting the circumſtances of the ſeveral expeditions in as clear and ſuccinct a manner, as the nature of the ſubject will allow. In the mean time, let us return to the enquiry made this winter into the conduct of the earl of *Torrington*; which was a point that exerciſed the thoughts of the miniſtry, and of both the houſes of parliament, as well as the tongues of the people.

The king, upon his return from *Ireland*, expreſſed great concern about this affair; the honour of the nation was in ſome meaſure affected, the common cry was very

[n] Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, Columna roſtrata, like of king William, &c.

very ſtrong againſt the earl, and the queen had engaged her promiſe to the *Dutch*, that his conduct ſhould undergo a ſtrict examination. On the other hand, the earl had been very inſtrumental in the revolution, had great alliances among the nobility, and had found the means of perſwading many, that inſtead of being called to an account for any real errors in his conduct, he was in danger of being ſacrificed to the reſentment of foreigners, merely for preſerving the *Engliſh* fleet. The great difficulty lay in the manner of bringing him to a trial: the king was reſolved it ſhould be by a court-martial; the friends of the earl maintained that he ought to be tried by his peers. A doubt was likewiſe ſtarted, as to the power of the lords of the *Admiralty*; for though it was allowed, that the lord high admiral of *England* might have iſſued a commiſſion for trying him, yet it was queſtioned, whether any ſuch authority was lodged in the commiſſioners of the *Admiralty* or not; and though ſome great lawyers gave their opinion in the affirmative, yet it was judged expedient to ſettle ſo important a point by authority of parliament[o].

In order to obviate this difficulty, a new law was made, declarative of the power of the commiſſioners of the *Admiralty*[p]; and immediately after the paſſing of this, the commiſſioners

[o] The reader may find much of this in Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c. Yet our account is chiefly taken from the journals of parliament, and ſome manuſcript memoirs of thoſe times, of which I ſhall give the reader a further account, in the memoirs of the earl of Torrington.

[p] Stat. 2 W. & M. ſeſs. 2. cap. 2. It is declared, that all and ſingular authorities, juriſdictions and powers, which by act of parliament or otherwiſe, are inveſted in the lord high admiral of England for the time being, have always appertained to, and ſhall be uſed and executed by the commiſſioners of the admiralty, as if they were ſo uſed and executed by the lord high admiral. Every officer preſent

commiſſioners directed a court-martial to be held for the trial of the earl, who was then ſick in the *Tower*. On the 10th of *December* this court-martial met on board the *Kent Frigate*, at *Sheerneſs*, ſir *Ralph Delaval*, who had acted as vice-admiral of the *Blue* in the engagement, being preſident, and all the members of the court, ſuch as were believed to be abſolutely independant of the perſon they were to try. The charge againſt the earl was, that in the late engagement off *Beachy-Head*, he had, through treachery or cowardice, misbehaved in his office, drawn diſhonour on the *Engliſh* nation, and ſacrificed our good allies the *Dutch*. His lordſhip defended himſelf with great clearneſs of reaſon, and with extraordinary compoſure of mind. He obſerved, that in the ſeveral councils of war held before the fight, not only himſelf, but all the admirals in the fleet, were againſt engaging. He took notice of the queen's order, which obliged them to fight againſt their own opinion, and without any probability of ſucceſs. He remarked the inequality of the confederate and *French* fleets; the former conſiſting but of fifty-ſix, and the latter having eighty-two actually engaged. He aſſerted, that the *Dutch* were deſtroyed by their own raſhneſs; and that, if he had ſuſtained them in the manner they expected, the whole confederate fleet muſt have been ſurrounded as they were; and as ſome reflections had been thrown out of his having a pique to the *Dutch*, to gratify which he had given

preſent upon trials of offenders by court-martial, to be held by virtue of any commiſſion granted by the lord high admiral, or commiſſioners of the admiralty, ſhall, before any proceeding to trial, take this oath, to be adminiſtered by the judge advocate, or his deputy, viz. "You ſhall well and truly try the matter now before you, between our ſovereign lord and lady the king and queen's majeſty, and the priſoner to be tried.

"So help you God."

given them up; he not only juſtified himſelf very warmly on that point, but concluded his defence with ſaying, that his conduct had ſaved the *Engliſh* fleet; and that he hoped an *Engliſh* court-martial would not ſacrifice him to *Dutch* reſentment q. After a full hearing, and ſtrict examination of all that had been advanced on both ſides, his lordſhip was unanimouſly acquitted r. And though ſome writers of our own, as well as of another nation, have taken great liberties with this judgment of the court-martial s, yet on the whole

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q See a further account of this matter in the ſubſequent memoirs of the earl of Torrington.

r Burchet's memoirs, p. 51. Kennet, life of king William.

s Biſhop Burnet in his hiſtory of his own times, expreſſes himſelf with his wonted ſharpneſs. "The commiſſioners of the admiralty, ſays "he, named a court to try him, who did it with ſo groſs a "partiality, that it reflected much on the juſtice of the nation; "ſo that, if it had not been for the great intereſt the king had "in the ſtates, it might have occaſioned a breach of the alli-"ance between them and us. He came off ſafe as to his per-"ſon and eſtate; but much loaded in his reputation: ſome "charging him with want of courage, while others imputed "his ill conduct to a haughty ſullenneſs of temper, that made "him, ſince orders were ſent him contrary to the advices he "had given, to reſolve indeed to obey them and fight; but in "ſuch a manner as ſhould caſt the blame on thoſe who had "ſent him the orders, and give them cauſe to repent of it." ——The malignity of theſe reflections deſtroy their credit, and the weight of the charge overturns it. If the proceedings of the court-martial had been ſcandalouſly unjuſt, our prelate would not have been at a loſs for the earl of Torrington's crime. His judges were upon oath, and regarded nothing therefore but proof. Indeed this was happy for him: for had they been governed like the biſhop, by conjectures, and gueſſed at the thoughts of his heart, inſtead of examining his actions, he might have been puniſhed, though he had not been guilty.—— The ſieur de Monte, in his political mercury, for the month of January, 1691, cenſures the judgment of the court-martial ſeverely, and ſays, the king was ſo diſpleaſed with it, that he reſolved never to employ any of it's members.——What credit is due

whole there ſeems to be no juſt ground either for cenſuring them, or fixing any imputation on the memory of that noble perſon t. It is true, the day after his acquital, the king took away his commiſſion, and he was thenceforward laid aſide; which might be a very right ſtep in politics, as it tended to ſatisfy our allies, and gave his majeſty an opportunity of employing a more fortunate officer u.

THE care of the adminiſtration to repair all paſt errors in naval affairs, and to retrieve the honour of the maritime powers, appeared viſibly in the meaſures taken for ſending a great fleet early to ſea, in the ſpring of the year 1691. In order to this, the week after the earl of *Torrington* was diſmiſſed from his command, *Edward Ruſſel*, eſq; was appointed admiral and commander in chief, and immediately received inſtructions to uſe the utmoſt expedition in drawing together the ſhips of which his fleet was to be compoſed; and a liſt of them, to the number of ninety-one, of which fifty-ſeven were of the line of battle, was annexed to his inſtructions. He executed theſe directions with the utmoſt skill and diligence, and by the 7th of *May* was ready to put to ſea. The *Blue* ſquadron was commanded by *Henry Killegrew*, eſq; as admiral;

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due to this, we may eaſily gueſs, if we conſider that ſir Ralph Delaval, the preſident of that court-martial, was immediately employed as vice admiral of the Blue. ——Another foreign writer, ſays, that the king diſmiſſed ſome of the members of that court, and forty two captains of the navy, who were ſuppoſed to be in the earl's intereſt.——This alone is ſufficient to ſhew his innocence. An Engliſh admiral capable of cowardice or treachery, could have no ſuch intereſt. t Biſhop Kennet tells us, that in the year 1697, ſeveral French officers coming over after the peace, when they could not be ſuſpected of partiality, openly juſtified and commended the earl's conduct, and ſaid, "He deſerved to be rewarded, rather than cenſured, ſince he had preſerved the beſt part of the "fleet from being deſtroyed." u Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, &c.

miral; ſir *Ralph Delaval*, vice-admiral; ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, rear-admiral. Admiral *Ruſſel*, in the *Britannia*, commanded the *Red* ſquadron, having for his vice and rear-admirals, ſir *John Aſhby* and *George Rooke*, eſq; as to the particular ſtrength of theſe ſquadrons, having ſeen a more perfect liſt than that exhibited by Mr. *Burchet*, I have given an abſtract of it at the bottom of the page w. His orders were to proceed into the *Soundings*, as ſoon as he ſhould be joined by the *Dutch*; and he was likewiſe directed to take care to block up the port of *Dunkirk*, in order to prevent the *French* privateers from diſturbing our trade. Theſe directions, however, were but indifferently executed; which our writers attribute to the ſlowneſs of the *Dutch* in ſending their ſhips to join the confederate fleet, which they had ſtipulated to do by the beginning of

w Blue ſquadron	Guns	Men
2 Firſt rates	200	1,600
6 Second rates	570	3,960
16 Third rates	1,090	7,040
4 Fourth rates	200	1,000
28	2,060	13,600
3 Frigates		
2 Hoſpital-ſhips		
1 Yatch		
10 Fire-ſhips		

Red Squadron	Guns	Men
3 Firſt rates	300	2,400
5 Second rates	470	3,300
16 Third rates	1,090	7,040
5 Fourth rates	250	1,250
29	2,110	13,990
3 Frigates		
2 Hoſpital-ſhips		
1 Yatch		
10 Fire-ſhips		

May, according to the proportion of five to eight, though biſhop *Burnet* ſays of three to five, of equal rates and ſtrength. Secretary *Burchet*, however, complains, that it was late in the month of *May* before there were ſo many as twenty-eight *Dutch* ſhips in the fleet; whereas, according to the liſt publiſhed by the *States-General*, in the very ſame month there ought to have been forty-ſix, and thoſe too very large ſhips x. This, however, is certain, that notwithſtanding all his ſkill and care, admiral *Ruſſel* found his fleet but indifferently manned, and very ſcantily victualled; at the ſame time that he was ſo perplexed by his orders, and with the difficulties ſtarted upon every occaſion by the *Dutch* admiral, who very propably was as much cramped by his, that a great part of the months of *May* and *June* were ſpent to very little purpoſe; and though the *French* fleet was not in ſuch forwardneſs this year as it had been the laſt, yet it was at ſea ſome time before ours had any intelligence of it y.

If we may judge from appearances, one may ſafely ſay, that *Lewis* XIV. ſhewed a ſingular vanity in the maintenance of a prodigious naval force, to make it evident how ſoon, and how effectually, his councils had been able to create a maritime power. He had at this time to deal with the *Engliſh*, *Spaniards*, and *Dutch*; and as he was now in the zenith of his glory, he exhauſted his treaſures, in order to render himſelf maſter at ſea. He appointed the count *d'Eſtrees*, vice-admiral of *France*, to command in the

x According to this liſt, the Rotterdam ſquadron conſiſted of eleven ſhips, from 80 to 50 guns. The Amſterdam ſquadron of ſixteen, from 92 to 50 guns. The North Holland of five, from 86 to 50 guns. The Friezland of ſix, from 70 to 52 guns. The Zealand of eight, from 92 to 50 guns. In all, forty ſix capital ſhips, carrying 3,002 guns. y Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Columna roſtrata, life of king William.

the *Mediterranean* a fleet conſiſting of four large men of war, five frigates, twenty-ſix gallies, and three bomb veſſels [a]: and, on the other hand, count *Tourville* was directed to aſſemble the grand fleet intended for the ocean: it conſiſted of three ſquadrons, the *White* and *Blue* commanded by M. *Chatteau Renault*, in the *Royal Dauphin* of one hundred guns; the *White* ſquadron commanded by count *Tourville* in perſon, in the *Royal Sun*, the fineſt ſhip in *France*, which carried one hundred and ſix guns; the *Blue* ſquadron under the marquis *d'Amfreville*, in the *Superb*, of ninety-eight guns [a]. This fleet, though very conſiderable, and excellently provided with every thing neceſſary, yet was inferior in force to that of the confederates, and therefore count *Tourville* was inſtructed to avoid an engagement as much as poſſible, and to amuſe the enemy, by keeping, as long as might be, in the channel. This great officer did all that could be expected from him, in order to put early to ſea; but, in ſpight of all his diligence and application, it was the middle of *June* before he left the port of *Breſt*. But then it muſt be obſerved, that a ſquadron had been ſent under the command of the marquis de *Neſmonde*, to carry ſupplies of all ſorts for the relief of king *James*'s army in *Ireland* [b]. Theſe were indeed great things, and what, all circumſtances conſidered, one could ſcarce conceive the *French* able to perform; yet they were far

[a] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. ii. p. 446. Pere Daniel Hiſtoire de France. [a] I take this from the marquis de Quincy, who has given us an exact liſt of them; according to which, the Blue and White ſquadron conſiſted of twenty-four ſhips; the White of twenty-five, and the Blue of twenty-four. In all, ſeventy-three capital ſhips, carrying 1,544 guns, and 29,450 men, together with twenty-one fire-ſhips. [b] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. ii. p. 455.

far ſhort of what it was believed in *England* at that time they were in a condition to undertake, and therefore ſo many accounts were ſent to our admiral from court, of deſcents to be made here, forces to be convoyed there, and other ſtrange projects, that he was hindered from purſuing either the orders that were firſt given him, or his own deſigns; and though he diſcovered a good deal of uneaſineſs under this, yet he continued for many weeks to complain and obey [c].

THE *Smyrna* fleet was expected home this ſpring, and as the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* had a joint concern therein, to the amount of upwards of four millions ſterling, both nations were extremely apprehenſive of its being attacked by the *French*, and therefore very preciſe orders were ſent to admiral *Ruſſel*, to uſe his utmoſt care for its preſervation; and this he executed with equal induſtry and ſucceſs: for having appointed ſingle ſhips to cruize for them on every point of the compaſs, he croſſed with the body of the fleet to *Cape Clear*, on the *Iriſh* coaſt; and being off *Kinſale*, received advice, that the *Smyrna* fleet was arrived ſafely in that harbour. Upon this he ſent orders to captain *Aylmer*, to join him immediately with the ſquadron under his command, reſolving to conduct the *Smyrna* fleet as far as *Scilly*, and then, if they had a fair wind, to leave them to proceed up the channel, having firſt taken the neceſſary precaution of ſending a frigate before to *Plymouth*, that he might be ſatisfied none of the enemy's ſhips were upon the coaſt [d]. After parting with this fleet, the admiral determined to go off *Uſhant*; and if the *French* were gone from thence, to follow them to *Belle-Iſle*; but being afterwards

[c] Burchet's memoirs, p. 71. Kennet, Burnet. [d] Burchet's memoirs, p. 85. Kennet, Burnet, &c.

terwards of opinion, that they lay in the ſea purpoſely to avoid him, he altered his reſolutions, and reſolved to go into a more proper ſtation in ſearch of them; ſo that parting with the *Smyrna* fleet off *Scilly*, the thirteenth of *July*, he firſt bent his courſe towards the *French* coaſt, from whence he ſent a letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, deſiring that it might be conſidered, whether the fleet, before its return, could be ſerviceable towards the reduction of *Ireland*; for that the proviſions on board would laſt no longer than the latter end of *Auguſt*, and after that month was expired, he thought it not ſafe for the great ſhips to be out of harbour; but he deſired that ſupplies of proviſion might be ready at *Plymouth*, that ſo the want of them might not incapacitate the fleet to perform any neceſſary ſervice. Arriving in this ſtation, ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel* was ſent to look into *Breſt*, where he ſaw about forty ſail coming out of that port, which proved to be a fleet of merchant-ſhips from *Bretagne*, eſcorted by three men of war. Sir *Cloudeſley*, to decoy theſe ſhips into his hands, made uſe of an excellent ſtratagem: he knew the *French* had intelligence that a ſmall ſquadron of their fleet had made prize of ſeveral *Engliſh* merchant-men; laying hold, therefore, of this piece of falſe news, he ordered part of his ſquadron to put out *French* colours, and the reſt to take in theirs. By this method he thought to deceive the *French*, who might naturally ſuppoſe it that ſquadron with their prizes. This ſucceeded in part, but the enemy diſcovered the cheat before he was near enough to do much miſchief[a].

TOWARDS the latter end of the month of *July*, admiral *Ruſſel* fell in with a convoy going to the *French* fleet

[a] Burchet's memoirs, p. 87.

with fresh provisions; some of these were taken, and from them he learnt that count *Tourville* had orders to avoid fighting, which he very punctually obeyed, keeping scouts at a considerable distance on all points of the compass by which he could be approached, and these being chased by ours, they immediately ran, making signal to others that lay within them; so that it was impossible to come up with the body of their fleet, though that of the *English* and *Dutch* sailed in such a posture, that the scouts on each wing, as well as those a-head and a-stern, could in clear weather see twenty leagues round [f]. The admiral, being sensible of the dangers that might attend this situation, wrote home for fresh orders, which he received; but found them so perplexed, that having intelligence of the *French* fleet's being gone into *Brest*, he, in the beginning of *August*, pursuant to the resolution of a council of war, returned to *Torbay*, from whence he wrote up to court to have his last orders explained. In return he was directed to put to sea again, which he did; and notwithstanding his frequent representations of the inconvenience of having such large ships exposed to the rough weather, which usually happens about the equinox, he was obliged to continue in the *Soundings* to the second of *September*, when he met with such a violent storm, that after doing all that could be done for the preservation of the fleet, he was constrained to bear up for so dangerous a port as *Plymouth*; and in doing this, through the violence of the wind, and the haziness of the weather, the ships were so scattered, that the greatest part of them were not seen when the admiral himself came to an anchor in the *Sound*; but when it

[f] See the Historical Mercury, for the month of August, 1691.

it grew somewhat clearer, one of the second rates, (which proved to be the *Coronation*) was discovered at anchor off *Ram-Head*, without any thing standing but the ensign-staff, and soon after she foundered; her commander, captain *Shelton*, together with her company, except a very inconsiderable number, being lost. Many of the biggest ships were not able to weather the eastermost point of land at the entrance into *Plymouth-Sound*, and therefore were constrained to take sanctuary there, in that unavoidable confusion which a lee-shore, thick weather, and a very hard gale of wind will always occasion; insomuch, that the *Hartwich*, a third rate, ran on shore, and bulged near *Mount Edgcombe*-house, and the *Royal-Oak* and *Northumberland* tailed on the ground, though afterwards they were luckily got off. A great *Dutch* ship was seen at anchor above five leagues in the *Offing*, with all her masts gone; and several there were that very narrowly escaped the danger of the *Edistone* s.

THE admiral immediately gave orders for refitting such of the ships as had been damaged in the storm, and left sir *Cloudesley Shovel* at *Plymouth* to see it performed; directing him, as soon as they were in a condition to sail, to send a squadron of ten sail into the *Soundings*, for the security of the homeward-bound trade; himself, with the rest of the fleet, steering for *Spithead*; where soon after he received orders to send the largest ships about to *Chatham*, as the *Dutch* admiral did to return home, with the first and second rates under his command. Admiral *Russel* was likewise directed to form a squadron of thirty sail of *English* and *Dutch* ships to be sent to the coast of *Ireland*, and he accordingly appointed vice-admiral *Delaval* for this

s Burchet's memoirs, p. 103.

command, who four times attempted to execute his orders, and was as often forced back by contrary winds; which, however, proved of no detriment to the ſervice, ſince the intelligence received of the *French* ſending a fleet to *Limerick*, proved falſe [h]. Thus ended the naval operations of the year 1691, very little to the profit, honour, or ſatisfaction of the nation. Yet certainly nothing could be charged on the admiral's conduct, who did all that could be expected from an able and vigilant officer, though his endeavours were fruſtrated by many claſhing and contradictory orders from home, the artful conduct of a cautious enemy, and the unavoidable effects of high winds and boiſterous weather.

WE need not wonder, therefore, either at the attempts made in the houſe of commons, to faſten upon him the miſcarriages, as they were called, at ſea [i], or the ill-natured cenſures glanced at his memory by ſome peeviſh writers [k], with whom want of fortune will always imply want of ſkill and integrity: theſe are things not to be avoided, nor, indeed, much to be heeded. The ſtorm in the houſe of commons never gathered to a head; for thoſe who miſinterpreted the admiral's conduct, found, on inſpecting papers, that it was not for their intereſt to examine it; and as

[h] Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Columna roſtrata, Preſent State of Europe, for 1691.

[i] The houſe ordered the admiral's inſtructions, and the letters written to, and by him, to be laid before them; which ſufficiently cleared him from all blame.

[k] Biſhop Burnet ſays, the ſeaſon went over without any action; and Ruſſel, at the end of it, came into Plymouth in a ſtorm; which was much cenſured; for that road is not ſafe: and two conſiderable ſhips were loſt upon the occaſion. Great factions were amongſt the flag-officers, and no other ſervice was done by this great equipment, but that our trade was maintained.—This remark is worth nothing, unleſs admiral Ruſſel had it in commiſſion to direct the winds; for in a ſtorm, folks do not make for the beſt, but for the neareſt port.

as for our cenſorious authors, their reflections have recoiled upon themſelves.

It was now become evident to the whole nation, that, with reſpect to our honour and intereſt in this war, the management of affairs at ſea was chiefly to be regarded; and yet, by an unaccountable ſeries of wrong councils, the management of theſe affairs was, in reality, leſs regarded than any thing elſe. The abſolute reduction of *Ireland*, and the war in *Flanders*, ſeemed to occupy the king's thoughts entirely, and the care of the navy was left wholly to the board of *Admiralty*, who, to ſpeak in the ſofteſt terms, did not manage it very ſucceſsfully, or much to the ſatisfaction of the nation. There were, beſides, ſome other things which contributed to make our maritime councils move ſlowly. There was a faction grown up in the fleet againſt the admiral, and at the ſame time the government entertained a great jealouſy of many of the officers; though to this hour it remains a ſecret, whether it was, or was not, well grounded [1]. The truth ſeems to be, that king *James* was better known to the officers of the fleet, than to any other ſet of men in *England*; moſt of them had ſerved under him when lord-high admiral, and many had been preferred by him; which rendered it highly probable, they might have an eſteem for his perſon: but, that any of theſe officers intended to act in his favour, in conjunction with a *French* force, againſt their country, is very unlikely; eſpecially if we conſider the unanimity with which they went into the revolution, which had been openly acknowledged, and they ſolemnly thanked for it by the convention. Yet the report of the contrary was grown wonderfully

[1] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 92. Kennet, Oldmixon.

wonderfully loud, and ſeems to have been very artfully propagated by the enemies of particular perſons, as well as by thoſe who were no friends to the government; for it muſt be allowed, that king *James*'s agents here boaſted in all the advices they ſent him, that they had brought back many of the officers of the navy to his intereſt; and they went ſo far as to name ſome of them, which they might do from many other motives than that of ſpeaking truth [m]. However it was, this is certain, that in parliament, at court, and in the navy, nothing was heard of but jealouſies, ill conduct, and want of ſufficient ſupplies for the ſervice; a kind of diſcourſe that laſted all the winter, and was productive of many bad conſequences.

In the ſpring of the year 1692, a little before the king went to *Holland*, he began to communicate his intentions, as to the employment of the fleet, to admiral *Ruſſel*, who had been again appointed admiral and commander in chief by commiſſion, dated *December* the third, 1691. At this time, however, he was very far from ſtanding in high favour. He had expoſtulated freely with his majeſty on the diſgrace of the earl of *Marlborough*, and lived on no extraordinary terms with the new ſecretary, lord *Nottingham*, but his character, as an officer, and his known ſteadineſs in revolution-principles, ſupported him; and the king reſolved to confide the fleet to his care, almoſt whether

[m] The agent ſent over by king James's adherents, was one captain Lloyd, to whom they gave a very exact liſt of the Engliſh fleet, and directed him particularly, to inform the king, that amongſt other eminent ſea officers, they had brought over rear-admiral Carter to his ſervice; when this was firſt talked of, a report prevailed, that he had 10,000 pounds given him; but of the falſhood of this ſtory, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more largely hereafter. See Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon.

ther the admiral would or not. The principal thing that ſeems to have been intended, was, convincing not *France* alone, but all *Europe*, that the maritime powers were ſtill lords of the ſea, by fitting out early ſuch a fleet, as ſhould keep their enemies in awe, while a deſcent was made in *Normandy*. Something of this kind king *William* intimated in a ſpeech to the parliament; and was certainly expected both by this nation and the *Dutch*. When, therefore, the king left *England*, in the beginning of *March*, his inſtructions to admiral *Ruſſel* were, to uſe all imaginable diligence in getting the fleet to ſea; and at the ſame time he was promiſed, that his majeſty would not fail to quicken the *Dutch*: but we ſhall ſoon ſee that all theſe ſchemes were ſuddenly altered; and that if the king's new miniſtry had been furniſhed with tolerable intelligence, theſe ſchemes could never have entered into their heads [n]. To be clear in this point, we muſt look over to the tranſactions in *France*.

As ſoon as *Lewis* XIV. perceived, that it was a thing impoſſible to ſupport the war in *Ireland* any longer to advantage, he came to a reſolution of employing the forces that were ſtill left, king *James*, to ſerve his purpoſe another way. With this view he concerted with the malcontents in *England*, an invaſion on the coaſt of *Suſſex*; and though for this deſign it was neceſſary to draw together a great number

[n] In order to prove the truth of this account, I ſhall refer the reader to the Hiſtorical Mercury, for the month of April, 1692, wherein we are aſſured, that the ſcheme of making a deſcent on France, was taken from king William's own mouth; that orders were given for having a prodigious number of pontoons and flat-bottomed boats ready, by the latter end of June, and that the duke of Leinſter, (who was ſon to marſhal Schomberg) was to command the forces employed in this ſervice. See alſo Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 92.

number of tranſports, as well as a very conſiderable body of forces, yet he had both in readineſs, before it was ſo much as ſuſpected here. The land army conſiſted of fourteen battalions of *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* troops, and about nine thouſand *French*, commanded by marſhal de *Belſondes*; ſo that in all there could not be leſs than 20,000 men [o]. The fleet of tranſports conſiſted of three hundred ſail, and was well provided with every thing neceſſary for the invaſion. In ſhort, nothing was wanting to the execution of this deſign in the beginning of *April*, but the arrival of count *d'Eſtrees*'s ſquadron of twelve men of war, which was to eſcort the embarkation, while the count de *Tourville* cruized in the channel with the grand fleet, which was alſo ready to put to ſea, but was detained by contrary winds. Things being in this ſituation, king *James* ſent over colonel *Parker*, and ſome other agents of his, to give his friends intelligence of his motions; and ſome of theſe people, in hopes of reward, gave the firſt clear account of the whole deſign to our government at home; upon which, order after order was ſent to admiral *Ruſſel* to haſten out to ſea, in whatever condition the fleet might be at this time [p].

THERE were at this very critical juncture, two conſiderable

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[o] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. ii. p. 473, 577. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, p. 93. Kennet, Oldmixon,

[p] Queen Mary behaved upon this occaſion with great wiſdom and firmneſs of mind; for, without diſcovering any apprehenſions of danger, ſhe took all the precautions that were neceſſary to prevent it; by publiſhing a proclamation, requiring all papiſts to quit the cities of London and Weſtminſter; another for aſſembling both houſes of parliament; and a third, for apprehending the earls of Scarſdale, Litchfield, Newbourg, Middleton, and Dunmore; the lords Griffin and Forbes; ſir John Fenwicke, ſir Theophilus Oglethorp, ſir Andrew Forreſter, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, ſuppoſed to be in her father's intereſt.

ſiderable ſquadrons at ſea; one under the command of ſir *Ralph Delaval*, which was ſent to bring home a fleet of merchant-men from the *Mediterranean*, the other under rear-admiral *Carter*, near the *French* coaſt. It was apprehended, that the *French* would have endeavoured to intercept the former, and therefore on the laſt of *February*, orders were ſent by the *Groin* packet-boat to vice-admiral *Delaval*, to avoid coming near cape St. *Vincent*, but to keep ſo far out at ſea, as not to make cape *Clear*, but rather to ſail to *Dingle-Bay*, the mouth of the *Shannon*, or ſome other port thereabouts q. But for fear theſe orders might not reach him ſoon enough at *Cadiz*, an advice-boat was ordered to cruize for him off cape *Clear*, with inſtructions to put into *Cork* or *Kinſale*. However, both theſe orders miſſed him, and he was ſo fortunate as to arrive, in the beginning of *March*, ſafe in the *Downs*. As for rear-admiral *Carter*, he was ordered to continue cruizing, with his ſquadron of eighteen ſail, as near the *French* coaſt as it was poſſible, in order to be the better and more certainly informed of what they were doing r. His majeſty, king *William*, as ſoon as he arrived in *Holland*, took care to haſten the naval preparations with unuſual diligence, ſo that the fleet was ready to put to ſea much ſooner than had been expected, or at leaſt much ſooner than it had done the year before, and in a much better condition. As for our admiral, he went on board in the beginning of *May*; and obſerving how great advantage the

q Burchet's memoirs, p. 129. r See the London Gazette, No. 2749. whereby it appears, that ſir Ralph Delaval's ſquadron conſiſted of ſixteen Engliſh and Dutch men of war, and had under convoy ſeventy merchant men, richly laden. See alſo Burchet, Columna roſtrata, &c.

the *French* might reap by the diviſion of ſuch conſiderable ſquadrons from our fleet, his firſt care was to write to court on this ſubject, and to deſire, that a certain place might be fixed for their conjunction, and that timely notice might be given to all perſons concerned. In return to this, he had orders ſent him to cruize between cape *La Hogue* and the iſle of *Wight*, till the ſquadrons ſhould join him, though he had propoſed the junction ſhould be made off *Beachy-Head*. However, he obeyed his orders as ſoon as he received them, and plyed it down through the ſands, with a very ſcanty wind, contrary to the opinion of many of his officers, and all the pilots, who were againſt hazarding ſo great a fleet in ſo dangerous an attempt; and yet to this bold ſtroke of the admiral's, which was his own, was owing all his following ſucceſs. On the eighth the fleet came ſafe off of *Rye*, and that night the admiral ſent to the *Dutch* admiral to weigh and make ſail after him, that no time might be loſt; and he alſo ſent a ſquadron of ſmall ſhips to look for ſir *Ralph Delaval*, being in great pain till the whole confederate fleet was in a body. On the eleventh of *May* he ſailed from *Rye* bay for St. *Helens*, where, in two days time, he was joined by ſir *Ralph Delaval* and rear-admiral *Carter*, with their ſquadrons[a]. While they lay here, the admiral received a letter from the earl of *Nottingham*, as ſecretary of ſtate, written by queen *Mary*'s direction, wherein he was informed, that a ſcandalous and malicious report was ſpread, as if ſome of the officers of their majeſties fleet were diſaffected, or not hearty in their ſervice; and that her majeſty had thereupon ordered the diſcharge of many of them from their employments: but her majeſty charged the admiral to acquaint his

[a] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 464.

his officers, that she was satisfied this report was raised by the enemies of the government, and that she reposed so entire a confidence in their fidelity, that she had resolved not to displace so much as one of them. Upon this, the flag-officers and captains drew up a very dutiful and loyal address, dated from on board the *Britannia* at St. *Helens*, *May* the fifteenth, 1692, which was the same day transmitted to court, and on the next presented by the lords of the *Admiralty* to her majesty, who was pleased to make this wise and gracious answer, which was published that night in the *Gazette*. *I always had this opinion of the commanders; but I am glad this is come to satisfy others* [t].

When all the ships, *English* and *Dutch*, were come together, the admiral proposed, that a small detachment of six or eight frigates, might hover about the coast of *Normandy*; that at the same time, the forces intended for a descent, should embark, and be landed at St. *Maloes*, and the grand fleet lie westward of that place, in order to protect them from the enemy. This proposition being in part approved, he detached six light ships to gain intelligence; and it being left to him to proceed as a council of war should advise, he, on the eighteenth of *May*, sailed for the coast of *France*. The next day, about three in the morning, the scouts, westward of the fleet, fired swivel guns; and being in a short time in sight, made the signal of discovering the enemy. Immediately orders were given for drawing into a line of battle, and the signal was made for the rear of the fleet to tack, in order to engage the sooner,

[t] I give, in some respects, a different account of this affair from what the reader will meet with in Burchet, and the rest of our historians. But then I do this from the Gazette itself, No. 2767, wherein the reasons I have assigned, are expressly mentioned.

ſooner, if the *French* had ſtood to the northward. A little after four, the ſun diſperſing the fog, the enemy were ſeen ſtanding ſouthward. The admiral upon this cauſed the ſignal for the rear to tack to be taken in, and bore away with his ſhip ſo far leeward, as that each ſhip in the fleet might fetch his wake, and then he brought to, and lay by, with his fore-top-ſail to the maſt, that ſo others might have the better opportunity of placing themſelves according to the manner formerly directed on ſuch an occaſion [u].

THE confederate fleet was in good order by eight, having the *Dutch* ſquadron in the van, the *Red* in the centre, and

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[u] Burchet's memoirs, p. 138, 139. It will be proper to give the reader here, an abſtract of the force of the reſpective fleets.

The RED SQUADRON.

Rates		Men	Guns
5	First	3,835	500
3	Second	1,800	270
16	Third	6,400	1,100
7	Fourth	1,860	350
31		13,895	2,220

The right honourable EDWARD RUSSEL, eſq; admiral, commander in chief.
Sir RALPH DELAVAL, vice-admiral.
Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, rear-admiral.

The BLUE SQUADRON.

Rates		Men	Guns
1	First	780	100
7	Second	4,655	636
18	Third	7,740	1,270
6	Fourth	1,500	304
32		14,675	2,310

Sir JOHN ASHBY, admiral.
GEORGE ROOKE, eſq; vice-admiral.
RICHARD CARTER, eſq; rear-admiral.

THE

and the *Blue* in the rear. About ten the *French* fleet bore down upon them with great reſolution. About half an hour after eleven count *Tourville*, in the *Royal Sun*, brought to, and began the fight with admiral *Ruſſel*, being within three quarters muſket-ſhot. He plyed his guns very warmly till one, but then began to tow off in great diſorder, his rigging, ſails, and top-ſail-yards being very much wounded About two the wind ſhifted; ſo that five of the enemy's *Blue* ſquadron poſted themſelves, three a-head, and two a-ſtern of their admiral, and fired very briskly till after three. The admiral and his two ſeconds, Mr. *Churchill* and Mr. *Aylmer*, had all theſe ſhips to deal with. There was ſo thick a fog about four, that the enemy could not be ſeen; and as ſoon as it cleared up, the *French* admiral was diſcovered towing away northward; upon which the

The DUTCH SQUADRON.

Rates		Men	Guns
9	Firſt	4,515	796
10	Second	3,766	772
9	Third	2,925	640
8	Fourth	1,845	406
36		13,051	2,614

Admiral ALLEMONDE
Vice-admiral CALLEMBERGH.
Rear-admiral VANDERGOES.

The FRENCH FLEET.

The VAN.
26 Ships from 90 to 60 guns.

The CENTER.
25 Ships from 104 to 54 guns.

The REAR.
12 Ships from 94 to 54 guns.

So that admiral Ruſſel had 99 ſhips of the line under his command, and count Tourville but 63, ſome of which were detached at the time of the action.

admiral followed him, and made the ſignal for chaſing. While this paſſed between the admirals, ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel* was got to the windward of count *Tourville*'s ſquadron, and engaged them; but the fog growing darker than before, they were forced to anchor: and about this time it was that captain (ſome liſts call him colonel) *Haſtings*, in the *Sandwich*, was killed, driving through thoſe ſhips of the enemy, by reaſon his anchors were not clear. The weather clearing up a little, the *French* followed their flying admiral, and the *Engliſh* chaſed the beſt they could. About eight in the evening it grew foggy again, and part of the *Engliſh Blue* ſquadron having fallen in with the enemy, engaged about half an hour, till they, having loſt four ſhips, bore away for *Conquet-Road* w. In this ſhort action rear-admiral *Carter* was killed, whoſe laſt words effectually confuted the baſe reports ſpread to blemiſh his reputation; for, finding himſelf mortally wounded, he recommended it to captain *Wright*, who commanded his ſhip, to fight her as long as ſhe could ſwim x.

The twentieth of *May* proved ſo dark and foggy, that it was eight o'clock before the *Dutch* diſcovered the enemy; and then the whole fleet began to chaſe, the *French* crowding away weſtward. About four in the afternoon both fleets anchored: about ten they weighed again; and about twelve admiral *Ruſſel*'s fore-top-maſt came by the board y.

2 ON

w Burchet's memoirs, p. 139, 140, 141. Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Columna roſtrata. x The manner of his death ſhews how falſe the aſperſion was, that he had taken 10,000 pounds to fire upon the French only with powder, who were to return the like, and then he was to go over to them with his ſquadron. As he certainly died like a man of honour, it is but juſt to believe, that he was ſtrictly ſuch while he lived. y Burchet's memoirs, p. 143.

On the twenty-ſecond, about ſeven in the morning, the *Engliſh* fleet continued the chace with all the ſucceſs they could deſire; about eleven the *French* admiral ran aſhore, and cut her maſts away: upon this her two ſeconds plyed up to her, and other ſhips began to hover about them; upon which the admiral ſent to ſir *Ralph Delaval*, who was in the rear, to keep with him a ſtrength ſufficient to deſtroy thoſe ſhips, and to ſend the reſt, that were under his command, to join the body of the fleet. In the evening, a great number of the enemy's ſhips were ſeen going into *La Hogue*. On the twenty-third the admiral ſent in ſir *George Rooke*, with ſeveral men of war, fire-ſhips, and all the boats of the fleet, to deſtroy theſe ſhips in the bay of *La Hogue*. On their entering, it was perceived, that there were thirteen ſail; but they were got up ſo high, that none but the ſmall frigates could do any ſervice. Sir *George*, however, was reſolved to execute his orders; and therefore having manned his boats, he went in perſon to encourage the attempt, burnt ſix of them that night, and the other ſeven the next morning, together with a great number of tranſport ſhips, and other veſſels laden with ammunition. One would think this was a remarkable piece of ſervice: indeed it was by much the greateſt that happened during the whole affair; for it was performed under a prodigious fire from the enemy's battery on ſhore, and within ſight of the *Iriſh* camp, and with the loſs only of ten men [2]: yet biſhop *Burnet*, by an odd ſtroke, either of humour or negligence, has thought fit to blame ſir

[2] It appears by admiral Allemonde's letter to the States-general, that this was a moſt difficult and dangerous undertaking, and his letter was dated the very morning the thing was done; which is a much ſtronger proof of admiral Rooke's merit, than if it had been written by an Engliſh admiral.

George, as if he had not been inclined to fight. Sir *John Aſhby*, with his own ſquadron, and ſome *Dutch* ſhips, purſued the reſt of the *French* fleet, till they ran through the race of *Alderney*, among ſuch rocks and ſhoals, as our pilots were abſolutely againſt following them; for which that admiral has been alſo cenſured, though perhaps without cauſe, ſince ſome of the ableſt ſeamen in *England* were of opinion, that there could not be a more deſperate undertaking, than the flight of the *French* ſhips through that paſſage. But though deſpair might juſtify them, yet it does not appear to me an argument, that ſir *John Aſhby* ought to have followed them [a]. The following original letter will ſet ſome other circumſtances in a better light, and with greater weight of evidence than could be done otherwiſe.

Sir Ralph Delaval's *letter to the earl of* Nottingham.

From on board the Royal Sovereign.

I Believe it my duty to acquaint you, that on the twenty-firſt inſtant, admiral *Ruſſel* having made the ſignal for the fleet to cut their cables, I obſerved the *French* to be forced from the race of *Alderney*, where they anchored, to the eaſtward; and finding that ſome of them endeavoured for the bay of *Cherburgh*, I ſtood in for that place, where I found three three-decked ſhips of the enemy, but ſo cloſe to the ſhore, and within ſome rocks, that it was not ſafe for me to attempt them till I had informed myſelf of

[a] The reader will be ſatisfied of this, if he caſts his eye upon a ſea-chart, and conſiders the prodigious riſque the French ran, in order to get through the race of Alderney. This circumſtance is particularly taken notice of in our tar ſong on the victory of La Hogue, which ſhews what the ſeamen thought of it.

of the road, they being hawled into ſhoal water. I immediately took my boats, and ſounded within gun-ſhot of them, which they endeavoured to prevent by firing at us. And that no time might be loſt, I went immediately on board the St. *Albans*, where, for the encouragement of the ſeamen, I hoiſted my flag, and having ordered the *Ruby*, with two fire-ſhips, to attend me, I ſtood in with them, leaving the great ſhips without, as drawing too much water. But coming very near, they galled ſo extreamly, and finding the five ſhips could not get in, I judged it beſt to retreat without ſhot, and there anchored, and immediately called all the captains, where it was reſolved to attack them on the morning, with all the third and fourth rates, and fire-ſhips. But after having drawn them into four fathom and a half water, I found we could not do our buſineſs, the water being ſhoal. Upon which I ordered three fire-ſhips to prepare themſelves to attempt the burning of them; going myſelf with all the barges and tenders to take them up, if by the enemies ſhot they ſhould miſcarry. Indeed I may ſay, and I hope without vanity, the ſervice was warm, yet, God be praiſed, ſo effectually performed, that notwithſtanding all their ſhot, both from their ſhips and fort, two of our fire-ſhips had good ſucceſs, by burning two of them, the other, by an unfortunate ſhot, was ſet on fire, being juſt going on board the enemy. Indeed, ſo brave was the attempt, that I think they can hardly be ſufficiently rewarded, and doubt not but their majeſties will do them right. The third *French* ſhip being run aſhore, and obſerving the people on board to go aſhore by boats full, I ordered the St. *Albans*, the *Reſerve*, and others, to fire upon her, judging it might cauſe them to quit her. And after having battered her

ſome time, I obſerved ſhe made no reſiſtance, I took all the boats armed, and went on board her. I found abundance of men on board, and ſeveral wounded, but no officers: and having cauſed all the people, as well thoſe that were wounded as others, to be taken out, I ſet her on fire; and had I not had notice by my ſcouts, that thirty ſhips were ſtanding with me, had ſent all the *French* on ſhore, who are now very troubleſome to me. The ſhips we ſaw proved to be ſir *John Aſhby* and the *Dutch*, coming from the weſtward. We are proceeding together to the eaſtward to *La Hogue*, where I am informed three or four of the enemies ſhips are, and if ſo, I hope God will give us good ſucceſs. I expect to find the admiral to-morrow, where I hope to hear he has deſtroyed ſome of the enemies ſhips, having left him in chaſe of them laſt night, ſtanding to the eaſtward, and pretty near them, as I judged. My lord, I hope you will excuſe me, if I preſume to pray you will uſe your intereſt with the queen, that a reward may be given to the three captains of the fire-ſhips, and ſeveral of the others; for greater zeal and greater bravery I never ſaw. I pray your excuſe for being thus tedious and thus particular. Pray God preſerve their majeſties, and that their arms may be ever crowned with ſucceſs by ſea and land, ſhall be the prayers and endeavours of, *&c.*

Cherburg, May 22, 1692.

P. S. Captain *Heath* burnt *Tourville's* ſhip the *Royal Sun*, which was the moſt difficult; captain *Greenway* burnt the other, called the *Conquerant*. The *Admirable* was burnt by our boats. Captain *Fowlis* attempted the *Royal Sun*, but was ſet on fire by the enemies ſhot, yet deſerves as well as the others.

IT is very remarkable, that though the confederate fleet was near double to that of the *French*, yet ſcarce half of it could engage, which was owing to the original diſpoſition of the fleet, (by which, as the reader may remember, the *Blue* ſquadron, of which ſir *George Rooke* was vice-admiral, was directed to tack northward, and to the weather) not at all to any deficiency in that admiral, as biſhop *Burnet* alledges [b]: yet the defeat was one of the moſt ſignal that ever happened at ſea. Beſides the *Royal Sun* of 110 guns, the *French* loſt another of 104, one of 90, two of 80, four of 76, four of 60, and two of 56 guns [c]. If, indeed, ſir *John Aſhby* could have reached thoſe that took ſhelter in St. *Maloes*, it had, in a good meaſure, put an end to the *French* power at ſea. As it was, we muſt acknowledge it a moſt glorious victory, and that we ought to pay a juſt tribute of praiſe to the memory of the brave men who atchieved it.

WE find this affair, notwithſtanding all the ruinous conſequences that attended it, treated in ſuch a ſtile by the *French* writers, as to appear rather a victory than a defeat; and all this founded on the ſingle circumſtance of their attacking the *Engliſh* fleet [d]. In order to explain this, we muſt obſerve, that count *Tourville* found himſelf obliged to take this ſtep, in obedience to his orders, which were ſo expreſs, that they did not leave any room for him to exerciſe his judgment. He called a council of war, indeed, the night before the engagement, wherein moſt of the offi-

[b] See his hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 93. [c] Burchet's memoirs, p. 146. Kennet, Oldmixon, Columna roſtrata, &c. [d] Hiſtoire militaire de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 583. Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. par P. Daniel, p. 164. Hiſtoire de milice Françoiſe, tom. ii. p. 491. Memoirs de Forbin, &c.

cers gave their opinions, that, conſidering the ſuperiority of the confederate fleet, and the ſituation themſelves were in, it was moſt prudent to avoid fighting. Upon this, after declaring his own ſentiments to be the ſame with theirs, he produced the king's orders, which appeared to be ſo preciſe for fighting the *Engliſh*, whether ſtrong or weak, that it was unanimouſly reſolved to obey them [e]. Several reaſons have been aſſigned for the *French* king's giving ſuch orders, and amongſt theſe the moſt probable is, that he was miſtaken as to the ſtrength of both fleets. As to his own, he looked upon it as certain, that count *d'Eſtrees*, with his ſquadron, would have joined the fleet, before any opportunity offered of fighting; and that count *Tourville*'s line of battle ſhould have conſiſted of ſixty-ſix ſhips at leaſt. He was, however, deceived in both: count *d'Eſtrees* met with ſuch bad weather in paſſing the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*, that, notwithſtanding all the pains he could take, his ſquadron did not arrive at *La Hogue* till after the battle; and though there were at that time ſixty-ſix *French* men of war at ſea, yet from the detachments made for particular ſervices, count *Tourville* had but forty-four actually under his command, when he took this reſolution to fight [f]. On the other ſide it was preſumed, that the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* fleets could not have joined ſo early; and that, if they had, ſtill it would be impoſſible for them to unite with their two great ſquadrons then at ſea, before the junction of the *French* fleets. In this too, the king's foreſight failed him; but then it was owing to that bold ſtroke of admiral *Ruſſel*

[e] Hiſtoire militaire. In all probability count Tourville called this council of war to juſtify himſelf in reſpect to the ſenſe in which he underſtood the king's orders. [f] P. Daniel, M. de Quincy, and indeed all the foreign writers in general agree in this.

Ruſſel beforementioned, by which he joined the *Dutch* ſquadron ten days ſooner than he could have done, if he had taken his pilot's advice [g]. There is yet another circumſtance mentioned by *French* authors, as ſuppoſed by ſome to have been a reaſon for the king's orders; and it is this, that the greateſt part of the *Engliſh* fleet were expected to deſert; from which it is pretended they were deterred, by finding count *Tourville* ſo weak [h]. As theſe very authors treat this ſtory as a calumny, there ſeems to be the leſs reaſon for my refuting it: yet, ſince it may be done in very few words, I cannot but obſerve, that this is abſolutely contradicted by another circumſtance, in which both our writers and theirs agree, *viz.* that, upon the junction of our fleet, the *French* king ſent two orders, by different routs, to count *Tourville*, to forbid his fighting, for that reaſon: but the maſter of a ſmall veſſel, which carried one, was taken off cape *Barfleur* by captain *Wyville*, before he could join the *French* fleet; and the other, which came over land, was too late by ſeveral days [i]. This, however, plainly proves, that king *Lewis* did not depend upon the deſertion of the *Engliſh* fleet, but upon their not joining the *Dutch*.

AFTER a particular account of the firſt day's engagement, the marquis de *Quincy* proceeds thus. "As to the "advantage gained in this fight, it muſt be allowed us, "that count *Tourville* did not loſe ſo much as a ſhip; nor "had he any that were diſabled: while, on the other "hand, the enemy loſt two; one ſunk and the other "diſabled. The reſt of their ſhips were as ill treated as "his

[g] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 467. I have likewiſe had the ſame confirmed to me by officers who ſerved on board the fleet.
[h] Hiſtoire militaire ubi ſupra. [i] Burchet's memoirs, p. 468. and the French author laſt cited.

"his, beſides their ſpending abundance of fire-ſhips, with-
"out any effect. Thus, in ſpight of the prodigious in-
"equality of the fleets, the ſucceſs was at leaſt equal in
"the firſt day's engagement: it is true, it happened other-
"wiſe in the ſucceeding days; in which, however, there
"fell out nothing that ought to tarniſh the reputation of
"*France* at Sea; ſince, while there remained any room
"for courage to exert itſelf, they not only acted gallantly
"in their own defence, but made themſelves reſpected by
"their enemies. What afterwards followed, was the ef-
"fect of unforeſeen accidents, and inevitable misfor-
"tunes[k]." Yet after this fine flouriſh, the marquis fairly confeſſes, the *French* ſhips ran for it, and that their other ſhips did the beſt they could to follow them; but partly through the want of ſafe ports on their own coaſts, and partly through the vigorous purſuit of the *Engliſh*, they were burnt and deſtroyed in the manner before related[l]. Neither doth this writer, or any other of the *French* hiſtorians, pretend to diminiſh their own loſs, or to ſay, that our admirals did not do their duty. On the contrary, they aſcribe the ſafe retreat of part of their ſhips into the road of St. *Maloes*, to their lucky paſſage through that dangerous ſtreight which I have before mentioned[m].

WHEN admiral *Ruſſel* was ſatisfied, that the grand fleet could not do any further ſervice againſt the *French*, the ſeaſon of the year, and their circumſtances conſidered, he reſolved to return to St. *Helens*, as well to refit the veſſels that were damaged in the late fight, as to obtain a ſupply of proviſions and ammunition. This deſign he executed very happily.

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[k] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. ii. p. 587. But all this muſt be owned extremely modeſt to father Daniel's account. [l] Hiſtoire militaire, P. Daniel, &c. [m] Burchet, Kennet, Columna roſtrata.

happily, ſince he had ſcarce left the *French* coaſt, before the weather became ſo tempeſtuous, that his heavy ſhips muſt have ſuffered exceedingly; and ſuch as had loſt their maſts, would probably have periſhed. Yet this meaſure, ſo prudent in itſelf, and ſo happy in its event, has been cenſured, as if the admiral had ſhewn too great eagerneſs to be at home, and too little care to proſecute his victory [n]. However, before he took this ſtep, he left ſir *John Aſhby* with twelve *Engliſh* ſhips, and three fire-ſhips, in conjunction with a *Dutch* ſquadron of like force, commanded by vice-admiral *Callemberg* with orders to ſail to *Havre de Grace*, and to endeavour the deſtruction of ſo many of the *French* fleet as had taken ſhelter there; which ſervice, indeed, they did not perform, the enemy's ſituation, and the ſtormy weather, rendering it altogether impracticable [o]. So that to blame the admiral for not expoſing the fleet, when it was impoſſible for him to have done any thing, is to ſhew a diſpoſition of finding fault at the expence of the nation's ſafety, ſince ſucceeding commanders are not like to uſe their judgments freely, when they find their predeceſſors ſuffer in reputation, for doing what prudence, and regard to the ſafety of the fleet, directed. The true reaſon, or rather the principal reaſon, which influenced admiral *Ruſſel* on this occaſion, was his deſire to make the moſt of his victory, by immediately taking on board the troops intended for a deſcent, and carrying them over with all poſſible expedition, to the coaſt of *France* [p].

It is not eaſy to give any tolerable account of this deſcent, ſince neither our public hiſtorians, nor the writers of private memoirs, have been able to leave us any certain ſcheme

[n] Burnet's, hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 94.
[o] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 467, 468.
[p] Kennet, Columna roſtrata.

ſcheme of this deſign, farther than that it was to be a deſcent on the *French* coaſt, in order to alarm and diſtract that nation. Thus much is certain, that both we and the *Dutch* ſeemed to have very great confidence in this expedition, which was provided for at a vaſt expence, and in order to which a promotion of officers was made on purpoſe. At firſt, ſeveral regiments of horſe were intended to have been ſent; but at laſt theſe were reduced to fifty horſe, and two hundred dragoons [q]. It is evident enough from his conduct, that admiral *Ruſſel* was not in the ſecret of this deſign, if indeed there was any ſuch ſecret; but knew in general only, that theſe troops were deſigned to land in *France*, and therefore he thought this the moſt proper opportunity for executing the project, be it what it would. This was his great motive for returning to the *Engliſh* coaſt; and, to be ſure, he acted therein with great judgment and prudence. In his paſſage, however, he met with very rough weather; and, on his arrival, with a very great diſappointment: for, inſtead of finding the troops ready to embark, and himſelf furniſhed with orders and inſtructions for the execution of the enterprize, he was informed, by letters from the ſecretary of ſtate, that no certain reſolution was as yet taken in what ſervice to employ them; but that this was left to be ſettled by a general council of land and ſea officers, when the fleet and the tranſports ſhould be joined [r]. The plain ſource of all this confuſion was, that the miniſters of ſtate were unwilling to take upon themſelves the direction of an affair which they were apprehenſive would miſcarry, but were willing to

[q] Memoires hiſtoriques, Preſent ſtate of Europe, life of king William. [r] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 471. Memoirs of admiral Ruſſel.

to put it upon the land and ſea-officers, that they alone might remain accountable for whatever happened.

At laſt, very late in the month of *July*, the tranſports, with the forces on board, joined the fleet; and on the 28th of the ſame month, a council of war was held on board the *Breda*, where the ſchemes, or rather hints, of the miniſtry were ſeriouſly conſidered, and upon the whole, reſolved to be impracticable [f]. The admiral, however, ſent ſir

[f] We have this in Burchet from the original; and as it is abſolutely neceſſary, for the perfect underſtanding this part of the hiſtory, I ſhall lay it before the reader.

At a council of war, held on board the Breda, the 28th of July, preſent, flag officers, the right honourable Edward Ruſſel, admiral; ſir Ralph Delaval, vice admiral of the red; George Rooke, eſq; vice admiral of the blue; ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, rear-admiral of the red; David Mitchell, eſq; firſt captain to the admiral.

Dutch. Admiral Allemonde; vice-admiral Callemberg; rear-admiral Vandergoes; rear-admiral Evertzen; rear-admiral Muys.

General and field officers. His grace the duke of Leinſter, lieutenant-general of all the forces; earl of Galway; ſir Henry Bellaſiſe; monſieur de la Meloniere; ſir David Collier; colonel Beveride; monſieur de Cambon; colonel Selwin; earl of Argyll.

The reſolutions they came to, follow. "The matter of "burning the ſhips at St. Maloes, being maturely conſidered, "vice-admiral Rooke, and vice-admiral Callemberg, (who "were lately ſent with a ſquadron of ſhips before that port) "repreſenting the great difficulty of carrying the ſhips in there, "by reaſon of the multitude of rocks, and the rapidity of the "tides; and the pilots refuſing to conduct any frigates, or "fire ſhips into the harbour, becauſe the marks might be re-"moved; it was the opinion of the flag-officers, that it was "not practicable to attempt any thing againſt the enemy's ſhips "at St. Maloes, with any part of the fleet, until the town it-"ſelf could be ſo far reduced by the land forces, as that ſhips "might not receive any great annoyance from the enemies "guns in the attempt; and the general and field officers of "the army, were of opinion, that the troops could not do any "ſervice at that place, without the aſſiſtance of the fleet.

"It

ſir *John Aſhby* with a ſtout ſquadron, to endeavour, if poſſible, to intercept the *French* fleet, which was every day expected to ſail from St. *Maloes* to *Breſt*; and as ſoon as this was done, the admiral, with the reſt of the fleet and the tranſports, ſailed for *La Hogue*. Secretary *Burchet* ſeems to ſay, that in his paſſage he received orders from the queen to return, and that in obedience to theſe orders, he came back in a few days to St. *Helens*[t]. Yet there is ſomething very improbable in this, if we conſider, that as ſoon as an expreſs, diſpatched by the duke of *Leinſter*, arrived at *Whitehall*

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[t] "It was then conſidered, whether it was feaſible to make "any attempt on the enemy's ſhips at Breſt; and although the "flag officers were of opinion, that an attempt might be "made there, with ſome hopes of ſucceſs, if the ſummer had "not been ſo far ſpent; yet, conſidering the winter was ap- "proaching, they did not think it proper to attack the enemy's "ſhips in that port, ſince the fleet might be expoſed to very "great inconveniencies, ſhould they be wind bound near that "place: and it was the opinion of the general and field-officers "of the army, that they ſhould not be able to do any ſervice "there againſt the enemy, unleſs they could be protected by "the fleet. The flag officers, likewiſe, thought it not ſafe "for the fleet to attempt any thing againſt the enemy at Roch- "fort; the ſeaſon of the year being ſo far ſpent, and the place "itſelf lying ſo deep in the bay.

"It was in the next place conſidered, whether the fleet "might lie with ſafety on the coaſt of Normandy, to protect "the army in an attempt either at Havre de Grace, la Hogue, "or any place thereabouts: and the flag officers judged, that "it might lie with ſafety on that coaſt, until towards the end "of the next month, in caſe their majeſties ſervice ſhould "require it."

The flags came alſo to the following ſeparate reſolution.

"That, ſince the tranſport ſhips with the land forces were "come to the fleet, in order to try what might be done againſt "the enemy, either at St. Maloes, Breſt, or Rochefort, it "was their opinion, that ſomething might have been attempted, "with probability of ſucceſs, were not the ſeaſon of the year "ſo far ſpent as not to admit of the fleets going with ſafety "thither." Naval hiſtory, p. 476.

Whitehall with this news, the queen ſent down to the fleet the marquis of *Carmarthen*, then lord-preſident of the council, the earl of *Devonſhire* lord-ſteward, the earl of *Dorſet* lord-chamberlain, the earls of *Nottingham* and *Rocheſter*, and the lords *Sidney* and *Cornwallis*, to know the reaſon of their return, and to take proper meaſures for their putting to ſea again immediately [u]. Theſe lords, on their arrival, found all the troops, except two regiments, on board, and the fleet wind-bound. Every body then expected that the troops would re-imbark, and at laſt they did ſo; but inſtead of proceeding to *France*, they ſailed, under the eſcort of a ſquadron of men of war, part to *Oſtend*, and part to *Newport*. There were two hundred and forty tranſport ſhips, ſix or ſeven thouſand men, a prodigious quantity of ammunition of all ſorts, and whatever ſeemed requiſite for executing a great deſign, though ſo little came of it [w].

One cannot wonder, that on ſo flagrant a miſcarriage as this, the mouths of all the world were opened. The *Engliſh*, who are not very famous for their patience on ſuch occaſions, made no difficulty of ſaying, that the nation was plundered and abuſed, and that, after immenſe ſums were drawn out of the people's pockets, by the moſt grievous and burdenſome taxes, they were idly ſquandered away in chimerical projects. The *Dutch* ſcrupled not to exclaim againſt the treachery of the king's counſellors, and to affirm, that every thing that was tranſacted at *London*, was ſo ſpeedily betrayed to the *French* court, that it was in vain to hope any ſucceſs from deſigns concerted there. The *French*, according to their uſual manner, exulted ſtrangely on

[u] Kennet, Burnet, preſent ſtate of Europe, life of king William, Oldmixon. [w] The political memoirs for the month of September, 1692, ſay, there were 16,000; but all our hiſtorians mention the numbers I have inſerted.

on their deliverance, and attributed to the wiſdom and power of *Lewis* XIV. what was the pure effect of croſs accidents and party-reſentments [x]. I muſt not, however, forget, that ſome refined politicians pretended, that this ſcheme had its effect; that king *William* intended no more than alarming the *French* court, and obliging them to keep great bodies of men conſtantly on their coaſts, and to be at a vaſt expence to watch the motion of this ſmall body of troops, which gave his majeſty the greater liberty of acting in *Flanders*. Yet this appears ſtrangely improbable, if we conſider the return of the fleet to St. *Helens*, ſince, if this had been the deſign, it would certainly have proceeded directly to *Oſtend*. Others would perſuade us, that the intention of the court was to have landed the forces at port St. *Sebaſtians*, but when the orders were opened at ſea, all the admirals were of opinion, that it was utterly impracticable. The reſolutions of the council of war ſhew, that this conjecture was groundleſs. The bottom of the buſineſs was a deſign upon *Breſt*; which might have been executed, if the tranſports had been ready, as the admiral adviſed, in *May* [y]. It is certain therefore, wherever the fault lay it was not in him.

AFTER the ſending theſe troops into *Flanders*, the great ſhips were ordered about to *Chatham*, and the fleet divided into ſquadrons, as was judged moſt convenient for the ſervice: and thus ended the public tranſactions of this year [z]. It may not, however, be amiſs, before we ſpeak of the parliamentary enquiry into the miſtakes in the management of the navy, to mention one or two extraordinary exploits at

[x] See Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, and the firſt volume of the ſtate tracts, in the reign of king William. [y] The reader will find this clearly explained hereafter. [z] Burchet's memoirs, p. 167, 168. and Naval hiſtory, p. 476.

at ſea, though of a private nature; and the rather, becauſe otherwiſe, things of this kind, though very worthy of remembrance, muſt naturally ſink into oblivion.

On the 24th of *February*, a *French* privateer took a ſmall ſhip called, the *Friends Adventure*, belonging to the port of *Exeter*; and on the 29th, captain *Fitzgerald*, who commanded the privateer, took out of her, the maſter and five of his men, leaving none on board but the mate, *Robert Lyde* of *Topſham*, a man of twenty-three years of age, and *John Wright*, a boy of ſixteen, with ſeven *Frenchmen*, who had orders to navigate the ſhip to St. *Maloes*. But when they were off cape *la Hogue*, a ſtrong ſouth-eaſt wind drove them from the *French* coaſt; upon which the man and boy, on the ſixth of *March*, took their opportunity, when two of the *Frenchmen* were at the pump, one at the helm, one on the forecaſtle, and three ſleeping in their cabbins, to attack them. The mate, with an iron crow, killed one of the men at the pump, and knocked down the other at one blow: the boy, at the ſame inſtant, knocked down the man on the forecaſtle, and then they ſecured and bound the man at the helm. One of the *Frenchmen*, running up from between decks, to the aſſiſtance of his companions, was wounded by the mate; but the two others, coming to his relief, ſeized, and had like to have ſecured him, if the boy had not come up briskly to his aſſiſtance, and after a ſharp ſtruggle, killed one, and gave the other quarter. Having thus made themſelves maſters of the ſhip, they put the two, who were diſabled by their wounds, into bed, ordered a third to look after them, and ſecured them between decks; one they kept bound in the ſteerage, and made uſe of the remaining man to navigate

the veſſel, which, on the 9th of *March*, they brought ſafely into *Topſham*, with five priſoners on board [a].

ABOUT the ſame time, one captain *Richard Griffith*, and his boy, *John Cadanon*, recovered their ſloop called, the *Tryal*, from five *Frenchmen*, put on board them by a captain of a man of war, and having wounded three, and forced all five down into the hold, brought the veſſel, with their priſoners, ſafe into *Falmouth* [b]. Theſe, thoſe ſtrong teſtimonies of prodigious firmneſs of mind, and daring reſolution, yet at the ſame time ſhew, how much our trade was expoſed to the *French* privateers; and, indeed, it muſt be confeſſed, that it ſuffered far leſs in the preceding year, when the *French* were maſters at ſea, than in this, when their grand fleet was blocked up in their ports [c].

THIS circumſtance of our loſing ſo many ſhips, after ſo great a victory at ſea, excited much clamour, eſpecially among the merchants; though the reaſons aſſigned for it by the board of admiralty, were very plauſible at leaſt, if not ſatisfactory. They ſaid, that the loſs the *French* ſuſtained ſo early in the year, was the occaſion of their ſeamen being diſmiſſed the king's ſervice, and ſuffered to go on board privateers, which rendered them more numerous, and of greater force than ever; while on the other hand, our keeping ſo great a fleet ſo long at ſea, rendered it impoſſible for the admiralty to furniſh the merchants with proper convoys, at the ſame time that ſo large a number of men as were employed on board the navy, forced our commanders

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[a] See the London Gazette, No. 2749. [b] See the London Gazette, No. 2743. [c] This we find very ſtrongly inſiſted upon by biſhop Burnet, hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 94.

manders of merchant ships, to proceed in their respective voyages worse manned than usual [d].

The king opened the sessions of parliament on the fourth of *November*, in which he took notice both of their great success, and great disappointments at sea, which gave occasion to the subsequent enquiries. On the eleventh the house of commons thanked admiral *Russel* in very strong terms, for his courage and conduct in the affair of *la Hogue*; but this did not prevent a warm debate on account of the opportunities that were said to be lost after that signal victory [e]. The admiral furnished the house with all the letters, papers, and instructions, that were necessary for their information, and entered into a large account of the whole affair. Then sir *John Ashby* was examined as to his not executing the orders that were given him to destroy the *French* ships, which got into St. *Malos*. Sir *John* cleared himself so handsomely, and set the whole matter in so fair a light, that the speaker, by order of the house, took notice of his ingenious behaviour at the bar, which gave such satisfaction, that he was dismissed from further attendance [f]. Then the business of the descent was set on foot, which was also thoroughly explained by the admiral, who shewed, that there were no less than twenty days intervened between his letter to the earl of *Nottingham*, and his lordship's answer. The house of lords entered also into

[d] See Chandler's debates in the year 1692. My account is taken from a MS. entitled, Reflections on the present complaints of ill management at sea. [e] Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William, &c. [f] See the votes of the house of commons. Chandler's debates, &c. So much easier it is to satisfy one of the houses of parliament, than to escape a critical historian.

an examination of this matter, where the earl of *Nottingham* not only juſtified himſelf, but reflected very ſeverely upon admiral *Ruſſel*; and the houſe went ſo far into his reſentments, that at a conference they communicated to the commons ſome papers which the king, at that lord's requeſt, had directed to be laid before them. But this was ſo far from producing the deſired effect, that, immediately on the reading them, the commons reſolved, that admiral *Ruſſel*, in his command of the fleet during the laſt ſummer's expedition, had behaved himſelf with fidelity, courage, and conduct [g].

In theſe debates it appeared clearly to the houſe, that one great check on the public ſervice, was the want of timely and ſufficient ſupplies; to remedy which in the ſucceeding year, they, on the ſecond of *December*, reſolved, that the ſum of 1,926,516*l.* be granted to their majeſties for the charge of the navy, including the charge of the ordnance, and the finiſhing their majeſties naval yard at *Hamoſe* near *Plymouth*, and the building four bomb-veſſels, and eight new ſhips of the fourth rate [h]. They likewiſe took notice of admiral *Ruſſel*'s inveighing againſt the want of knowledge in ſea-affairs, in ſuch as pretended to direct them, and therefore a motion was made, that they ſhould come to a reſolution of addreſſing his majeſty, to conſtitute a board of admiralty, compoſed of ſuch perſons as were of known experience in maritime affairs; but here the weight of the board, as it then ſtood, fully appeared, by its paſſing in the negative [i]. Yet to ſhew their diſtaſte of the earl

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[g] See the votes, Kennet, Burnet, &c. [h] This ſhews a true Britiſh ſpirit; they join amendment with the diſcovery of the miſchief. [i] It was rightly foreſeen, that a lord high admiral

earl of *Nottingham*'s interfering ſo much in maritime affairs, they addreſſed the king, that for the future all orders for the management of the fleet, ſhould paſs through the hands of the commiſſioners of the admiralty [k]. But the admiral's victory here coſt him too high a price; for the king, conceiving that he had ſhewn a much greater concern for his own intereſt and reputation, than for his ſervice, reſolved, notwithſtanding the great things he had done, to lay him aſide for the preſent, and employ ſuch as might make his affairs go eaſy; which deſign was executed ſoon after, though with very indifferent ſucceſs [l].

THE warmth the parliament had expreſſed in providing for the ſea-ſervice, joined to the clamour that had been raiſed on the defeat of the late expedition, obliged the king to take very early care of whatever related to the affairs of the navy, that nothing might hinder the ſending a ſtout fleet to ſea in the beginning of the ſpring. In the month of *January*, therefore, his majeſty was pleaſed to make a great change in the command of the fleet, in which he was ſuppoſed to follow chiefly the advice of the earl of *Nottingham*. Inſtead of appointing an admiral and com-

admiral might be much more eaſily called to account than lords commiſſioners; becauſe, whenever the latter is done, the commiſſioners (if they have ſeats in parliament) muſt act againſt themſelves. In this caſe, the grand argument againſt the addreſs was, that it reflected on his majeſty's judgment; and ſo regard to compliment, got the better of concern for the public.

[k] This addreſs had a right intention; for as things were managed before, the admiral was frequently more puzzled to underſtand his orders, than to execute them: and whenever diſputes aroſe about them, the admiral was ſure to ſuffer; for the ſecretary intrenched himſelf behind his directions, ſo that there was no coming at him but through the council.

[l] Biſhop Burnet repreſents the king's conduct in this reſpect in its true light, vol. ii. p. 103.

mander in chief, he granted a commiſſion to *Henry Killegrew*, eſq; ſir *Ralph Delaval*, and ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, to execute that office. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that the two firſt were thought to be ſo much in king *James*'s intereſt, that it was believed the king was putting the fleet into the hands of ſuch as would betray him; for though no exception lay againſt *Shovel*, yet he was but one to two [m]. Whether the biſhop's conjecture was well grounded or not, I cannot pretend to determine; but the event very fully proved, that ſuch a joint commiſſion is a very bad expedient. Soon after his majeſty made *George Rooke*, eſq; vice-admiral of the *Red*, and *Matthew Aylmer*, eſq; rear-admiral of that ſquadron. *John* lord *Berkley*, vice-admiral, and *David Mitchell*, eſq; rear-admiral of the *Blue*; and theſe promotions were declared on the eighth of *February* following. To give ſtill a higher Proof of the king's concern for, and attention to this neceſſary part of the public ſervice, his majeſty ſoon after went down to *Portſmouth*, as well to view the ſtate of the place and its fortifications, as to examine in perſon into the condition of that part of the fleet which was then there. On this occaſion his majeſty went on board the ſhip where vice-admiral *Rooke* had hoiſted his flag, and conferred the honour of knighthood upon that admiral; after which he returned to *London* very well ſatisfied as to the ſtate of the fleet at *Spithead* [n].

THE war in *Flanders* requiring his majeſty's preſence early in the ſpring, the admirals were inſtructed to make all poſſible diſpatch in getting out the fleet to ſea, to endeavour, if poſſible, to block up the enemy in their ports, eſpecially in *Breſt*, which was thought very practicable, and

[m] See his hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 104. [n] See the memoirs of ſir George Rooke, in the fourth volume.

and to take all poſſible care of the merchants. In order to comply with the firſt part of their charge, they began to take half the ſeamen out of privateers; but this, notwithſtanding the preſſing occaſions of the public, and the great ſcarcity of men, was thought ſo heavy a grievance, and was beſides ſo viſible a favour to the enemy, that it was diſuſed. Then five regiments of foot were put on board, with a view to the debarkment at *Breſt*, which was a ſcheme of ſome of the land-admirals, and was always thought (what it afterwards appeared to be) by the ableſt of our ſeamen, a very dangerous, and, at the ſame time, a very impracticable project. Proviſions running ſcarce, a meſs was increaſed from four to ſix men; and yet, in ſpight of all theſe contrivances, they were not able to form a line of battle at St. *Helens*, till the ſeventh of *May*, 1693, which loſt them the opportunity of blocking up either of the *French* ſquadrons [o]. As to the merchants, their complaints grew ſtill louder than ever: ſuch as were concerned in the *Levant* or *Mediterranean* trade, had their ſhips lying waiting for a convoy many months, nay, ſome above a year and a half; and the excuſes they received from the *Admiralty* were of ſuch a nature, as put it out of their power to judge when they might expect a convoy; for this, they were told, depended on the intelligence of the board, and the merchants were but too ſenſible, they had no intelligence at all [p].

[o] Burchet's memoirs, p. 166, 167. Kennet, Burnet, life of king William, Oldmixon. [p] The complaints made by the merchants, did not only run high, but were extremely well ſupported. They ſhewed, beyond the power of refutation, the folly of ſuffering ambition, intereſt, or intrigue, to prefer unqualified men to that board, which directed the naval power of England: and

WHEN the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* fleets joined, they made a formidable appearance, and every body expected ſomething very conſiderable would be performed q. It appeared, however, but too ſoon, that things were in their old condition; that, in ſhort, the admirals had not proper orders to warrant their doing any thing of moment, and were too much divided in their opinions, to undertake any thing of themſelves. In ſhort, the only thing they could reſolve on was, that ſir *George Rooke* ſhould command the ſquadron appointed to convoy the *Mediterranean* fleet, and that in caſe they had no exact intelligence of the *French* ſquadrons, the fleet ſhould accompany ſir *George* into a certain latitude r. If this deſign had been executed as ſoon as

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and yet the miſchief was not, in truth could not, be amended; becauſe the more experienced people, who had been long in the ſervice, were thought diſaffected, and ſo it was feared the remedy might have proved worſe than the diſeaſe. q The line of battle publiſhed here and in Holland, ſtood thus:

ENGLISH	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	Fire-ſhips.
Vice of the Blue	0.	3.	5.	1.	0.	0.	3.
Admiral of the Blue	2.	1.	5.	1.	0.	1.	3.
Rear of the Blue	0.	2.	6.	1.	0.	0.	2.
Rear of the Red	1.	2.	5.	1.	0.	0.	2.
Commander in chief	3.	1.	5.	1.	2.	2.	3.
	6.	9.	26.	5.	2.	3.	13.

In all 51.

DUTCH	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	Fire-ſhips.
Vice admiral	1.	2.	4.	2.	0.	0.	2.
Admiral	2.	1.	6.	1.	0.	2.	3.
Vice admiral	3.	0.	4.	3.	0.	1.	1.
	6.	3.	14.	6.	0.	3.	6.

In all 32.

Burchet's memoirs, p. 181.

as it was formed and talked of, it had been honourable for the nation, and happy for the merchants; but the admirals were ſo timorous and diffident of their own power, that it was the beginning of *June* before they ſailed; and even then they had no intelligence of the enemy's motions, but took their meaſures at random. A circumſtance not raſhly to be aſſerted, and yet too important to be concealed, when ſupported by undeniable evidences [s].

THE *French*, on the other hand, acted with greater prudence in the diſpoſition of their naval ſtrength this year, than they had done during the continuance of the war. In order to repair the mighty loſs he had ſuſtained at *La Hogue*, the *French* king bought ſeveral large ſhips, and turned them into men of war, cauſed ſuch as wanted repair to be put, during the winter, into a condition to go to ſea; and that they might not be detained for want of men, he ſuſpended in a manner the whole trade of *France* for a year, by forbidding any ſhips to go to ſea, till his ſquadrons were manned; laſtly, to raiſe the ſpirits of the ſeamen, as well as to encourage ſuch officers as had done their duty in the laſt unlucky engagement, he made a grand naval promotion, which had preciſely the effect he expected from it, and excited ſuch a ſpirit of diligence and emulation, as is eaſier to be conceived than deſcribed [t]. The reader will be convinced of the truth of this, when he is informed, that the *French* fleet ſailed from the ocean for the *Mediterranean* in the middle of the month of *May*, in three ſquadrons, conſiſting all together of ſeventy-one ſhips

[s] Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, ſtate-tracts in the reign of king William, and in ſhort, all the memoirs of that time.
[t] Hiſtoire militaire de Louis XIV. tom. ii. p. 593, 705. Memoirs de Fourbin, P. Daniel.

ſhips of war, beſides tenders, bomb-veſſels, and fire-ſhips; ſo that they were actually on the coaſt of *Portugal*, before our *Smyrna* fleet ſailed [u]. Almoſt all our writers agree, that the *French* fleet had very exact intelligence from hence, and laid their ſcheme for ſurprizing this rich fleet very early in the winter. I cannot find any thing of this ſort in the *French* writers I have met with; and yet they are ready enough to magnify the policy of their court upon other occaſions: I would not, however, be underſtood to diſcredit what our authors ſay on this ſubject, ſince it is very probable they are in the right, and the *French*, hiſtorians might either want proper information, or think it more glorious for the *French* arms to let this treacherous correſpondence paſs in ſilence [w].

THE *Engliſh* fleet left ſir *George Rooke* with the *Streight's* ſquadron on the ſixth of *June* in the evening, about fifty leagues W. S. W. of *Uſhant*, and returned to take up the cruizers, having all this time had no account of the enemy. The lords of the *Admiralty* at home, however, had an account directly from *Portugal* of M. *Tourville's* coming into *Lagos-Bay*, between cape St. *Vincent* and *Faro*, with no leſs than one hundred and fourteen ſail, great and ſmall. This exceedingly alarmed the government, and advice was inſtantly diſpatched to the fleet, which conſiſted now of ſixty-nine ſhips of the line of battle [x]. On the twenty-third of *June* a council of war was held at *Torbay*, in which it was reſolved to bear away for *Liſbon* directly,

[u] Burchet's memoirs, p. 183. Hiſtoire militaire, tom. ii. p. 707. [w] Theſe points are fully cleared in the proceedings againſt Mr. Abraham Anſelm, ſecretary to the admirals Killegrew, Delaval, and Shovel, &c. 4to. 1694. [x] Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William.

directly, in case they could be properly victualled; but, to prevent all danger, orders were immediately dispatch'd to sir *George Rooke*, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. If this resolution had been pursued, and the fleet had actually sailed for *Lisbon*, something might have been done worthy of the *English* nation. But upon the first of *July* another council of war was held, in which, though the queen's orders were produced for their executing what themselves had before proposed, yet the flags came to a new resolution, which was to submit it to her majesty, whether, if the *French* squadrons were joined, and should sail north-about, the coasts of *England* might not be exposed to some insult during their absence [y]. This was doing what they had always charged the council with doing, viz. altering their scheme when it ought to be put in execution. They knew well enough, that a hint of the coast being in danger, would be sufficient to prevent their quitting it; and this was certainly what they now intended, and might easily have been discerned to be what its consequences shewed it, a weak and ruinous measure; which exposed sir *George Rooke*, and the rich fleet under his care, to be attacked by the whole force of *France*, while we had a superior fleet riding, to no purpose in the world, in our channel. But it is now time to leave it, and speak of the conduct and fortune of that vice-admiral on this critical occasion.

It has been before observed, that the grand fleet quitted sir *George Rooke* on the sixth of *June*, 1693, without having at that time any certain intelligence either of the force of the *French* squadrons, or where they were sailed; which put that admiral under very great difficulties, and therefore

[y] Burchet's memoirs, p. 185.

therefore we cannot wonder that he expreſſed ſome concern at the great riſque the numerous fleet of merchant-men under his convoy, was like to run [z]. It is true, his ſquadron was very ſtrong, conſiſting of no leſs than twenty-three men of war, and he had under him two flag-officers of great courage and experience, *viz.* the *Dutch* vice-admiral *Vandergoes*, and rear-admiral *Hopſon*. But then the merchant-men under his care were near four hundred, and theſe not only *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, but *Danes*, *Swedes*, *Hamburghers*, *Flemings*, *&c.* ſo that our reputation as a maritime power, was in a manner ſtaked for their ſafety [a]. When he left the fleet he had a very fair and ſtrong gale of wind, which carried him at ſuch a rate, as prevented any of the advice-boats, ſent with freſh inſtructions we mentioned, from coming up with him; and he was ſo unlucky to, as not to meet with any ſhips at ſea that could give him notice of marſhal *Tourville*'s fleet being in that part of the world. In this ſituation of things he purſued, as was his duty, his inſtructions, and having left by the way the veſſels bound for *Bilboa*, *Liſbon*, St. *Ubes*, and other places, he continued his courſe for the *Streights* [b].

On

[z] Burchet's memoirs, p. 185. See this matter further explained in our memoirs of ſir George Rooke. [a] Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, and the State of Europe for July, 1693.

[b] The new orders ſent him, were to this purpoſe; that in caſe he was obliged to go into the river of Liſbon, and received certain intelligence, during his ſtay there, that the Toulon ſquadron had joined the reſt of the French fleet, and were together gone northward, from the coaſt of Portugal, he ſhould leave a proper number of ſhips, both Engliſh and Dutch, to proceed up the ſtreights with the Turky fleet, and himſelf return with the reſt, and join the body of our fleet in theſe ſeas, and, not meeting them in his paſſage, to make the port of Plymouth, and there expect further order. But theſe inſtructions

On the fifteenth of *June*, he ordered the *Lark*, a ſixth rate man of war, and a prime ſailor, to ſtretch a head of his ſcouts in *Lagos-Bay*, to get what intelligence they could of the enemy; but, though ſome overſight in the captain, this was not properly executed. The next day the ſcouts diſcovered two of the enemy's ſhips, and engaged them in the afternoon, till perceiving eight or ten ſail under the cape, they thought fit to quit the *Frenchmen*, to inform the admiral of what they had ſeen. Upon this a council of war was called, in which the admiral's opinion, for lying by till the enemy's ſtrength could be known, was over-ruled [c]. On the ſeventeenth, about break of day, ten ſail of *French* men of war were diſcovered, with ſome ſmall ſhips, which were chaſed by part of the *Engliſh* ſquadron, and a fire-ſhip taken, the crew of which poſitively aſſerted, that the whole ſquadron, though there were three flags amongſt them, conſiſted of no more than fifteen ſhips of the line. About noon the falſity of this aſſertion was diſcovered, and ſir *George Rooke* eaſily counted eighty ſail of men of war. Sixteen of theſe (amongſt which were three flags) plied up to the *Engliſh* ſquadron, while the vice-

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tions could be of no uſe to him, ſince they were not ſent till the twenty-third, and he fell in with the French three days afterwards. Secretary Burchet, indeed, ſays, they were ſent the third of June; but his own account ſhews that to be impoſſible, ſince he owns, that ſir George did not quit the grand fleet till the ſixth.

[c] This ſeems to have been the principal cauſe of all the miſchief that afterwards followed. Indeed the admiral was ſo ſenſible of the dangerous conſequences that might attend the not taking this ſtep, as to call in five or ſix captains who were on board his ſhip by chance, in order to have their opinions; and they agreeing with the council of war, he was forced to ſubmit after all, directly contrary to his judgment.

vice-admiral of the *White* ſtood off to ſea, that he might fall in among the merchant-ſhips [a].

THE *Dutch* vice-admiral, about three o'clock, ſent a meſſage to ſir *George*, that being now ſenſible of the ſtrength of the *French* fleet, which he doubted before, as well as of their deſign, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to avoid fighting, as it could only tend to their abſolute ruin. At this time they were within four miles of the enemy, and it was the ſentiment of ſir *George* himſelf, that they were too far advanced to think of retreating; and therefore, before he received this meſſage, he was reſolved to puſh for it; but conſidering afterwards, that, if the *Dutch* admiral had formed a right judgment, and both the ſquadron and the fleet under their convoy ſhould ſuffer greatly by this meaſure, the blame would fall entirely on himſelf, he brought to, and ſtood off with an eaſy ſail, that the *Dutch*, and the heavy ſhips, might work up to the windward. He at the ſame time ſent orders to the ſmall ſhips that were near the land, and therefore not likely to keep up with the fleet, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in the night to put into the neighbouring ports of *Faro*, St. *Lucar*, or *Cadiz*. This was all that it was in the power of the admiral to do, and it is certain, that theſe orders were extremely well calculated for leſſening, as much as poſſible, the misfortune; and it ſhewed great preſence of mind in ſir *George Rooke*, to provide ſo wiſely for the moſt diſtant part of the fleet, when himſelf, and thoſe about him, were in ſuch imminent danger [b].

THE admiral and vice admiral of the *Blue*, with about ten ſail of the enemy's fleet, fetched up the *Engliſh* ſquadron

[a] Burchet's memoirs, p. 189. See alſo captain Littleton's letter in the State of Europe, for the month of July, 1693. [b] Burchet, Columna roſtrata, life of king William.

dron very faſt, ſo that about ſix in the evening they came up with two *Dutch* men of war, and ſome merchant-ſhips of that nation. The men of war were commanded by the captains *Schrijver* and *Vander-Poel*, who finding themſelves under the wind, and therefore in no probability of eſcaping, tacked in for the ſhore, and thereby drew the enemy after them, which ſaved the reſt of the fleet. The *Dutch* captains made a moſt deſperate defence, but were at laſt over-powered by numbers, and taken [f]. The admiral ſtood off all night, having a freſh gale at N. N. W. and the next morning found fifty-four ſhips about him, among which were only two *Dutch*, and one *Hamburgher*. Five ſail of the enemy's ſhips appeared to the leeward, and two to the windward, which laſt dogged him all day. On the nineteenth ſir *George Rooke* ſent for the officers of the men of war and merchant-ſhips on board, in order to get the beſt account he could of the ſtate they were in, and to concert the moſt proper meaſures for ſecuring the remainder. In this council moſt of the officers preſent were for

[f] It is very ſtrange, that even our beſt hiſtorians ſhould be ſo inaccurate as to their dates. According to Burchet, this engagement happened on the eighteenth of June; according to biſhop Kennet, it muſt have been the ſixteenth. One would have thought the former moſt like to be in the right, on account of the opportunities given him by his office; and the rather in this particular, becauſe I am ſatisfied he copied ſir George Rooke's narrative: and yet he is abſolutely wrong, as appears, not only from other accounts, but from his own: the marquis de Quincy places this action on the twenty-ſeventh, N. S. that is the ſeventeenth, and it muſt have happened upon that day, even according to Burchet's account; for he tells us, that the day after the engagement, was Sunday: now it appears, that the eighteenth of June, 1693, fell on a Sunday; conſequently the action muſt have happened on the ſeventeenth, and ſo indeed, ſir George Rooke's original account, and all the papers of thoſe times, have it.

for going either to *Lisbon*, or bearing away for *Ireland*. The admiral, however, conſidering that they had not water enough on board to enable them to carry the laſt mentioned ſcheme into execution, and having alſo ſome hopes of meeting with part of his ſcattered fleet at the *Madeiras*, he determined to ſail thither; which he accordingly performed [g].

If the enemy in executing this deſign of theirs, had ſhewed the ſame dexterity as in contriving, it is not eaſy to conceive how any part of the fleet of merchant-men could have been ſaved. But whether their admirals made a wrong diſpoſition, or whether their orders were but indifferently obeyed, certain it is, that they did not ſtrike near ſo heavy a blow as they might have done. Yet the miſchief they did was very great, and ſeverely felt both by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* trade. According to ſome accounts, beſides four of the largeſt *Smyrna* ſhips, which M. *Coetlogon* burnt or ſunk at *Gibraltar*, and ſeven which he took, M. de *Tourville* and the count *d'Eſtrees* took two *Dutch* men of war, burnt a rich pinnace, and an *Engliſh* man of war, took twenty-nine merchant-men, and deſtroyed about fifty more [h]. The value of the cargoes, and the men of war together, might amount to one million ſterling, or thereabouts; whereas the *French*, if they had taken the whole fleet, (as, conſidering their prodigious ſuperiority, they might eaſily have done) muſt have been gainers of upwards of four millions. As it was, the loſs fell very heavy upon us, without much enriching them [i].

The

[g] Burchet, Kennet, life of king William, Oldmixon, &c.
[h] Kennet, Burnet; but more particularly the Preſent State of Europe, for the year 1693.
[i] I ground my computation on the account given by the Dutch writers; for, notwithſtanding

THE *French* writers treat this affair as one of the moſt glorious actions ever performed by their arms at ſea. M. de *Quincy* gives us a very conciſe account of the engagement, and then runs into a long detail of the prizes that were taken, and of the rich cargoes with which they were laden. He ſeems to be miſtaken in many circumſtances; particularly in reporting our ſquadron to have conſiſted of twenty-ſeven men of war, and theſe too he makes much larger ſhips than they were. Father *Daniel* informs us, that M. *Tourville* at firſt apprehended the whole confederate fleet to have been ready to attack him; and, as he had not yet joined count *d'Eſtrees*, he thought proper to detach twenty ſail of ſtout ſhips to attack the *Engliſh*, in caſe they proved the *Smyrna* fleet, and diſpoſed the reſt of his ſhips in the beſt order poſſible for ſupporting them. This, he ſays, was executed ſo vigorouſly, that ſixty merchant-men were burnt, ſunk, or run aſhore, and twenty-ſeven taken [k]. The accounts publiſhed at that time, admit a great miſmanagement in the *French* commanders; ſome of them charge it upon M. *Tourville*, others on M. *Gabaret* [l]. The truth ſeems to be, that M. *Tourville*'s

ing the noiſe this affair made in England, and its becoming afterwards, as the reader will find, the ſubject of a parliamentary enquiry; yet no certain or exact account was ever publiſhed here.

[k] Theſe accounts are to be found in the Hiſtoire Militaire, tom. ii. p. 708. and in the hiſtoire de la milice Françoiſe, tom. ii. p. 492. As to the account taken from the memoirs of the count de Fourbin, upon which ſome of our writers lay a great ſtreſs, I muſt confeſs, I do not believe it, becauſe I am convinced thoſe memoirs are not genuine.

[l] I meet with this in the Gazettes and Journals of thoſe times, which ſay, that M. Tourville threw the blame upon Gabaret, as not punctually obeying his orders; as on the other hand, Gabaret charged it on the marſhal, as not acting vigorouſly enough, which

orders for ſtretching out to ſea at the beginning of the action, were not well obeyed; and that the preſſing ſo hard on the two *Dutch* men of war, and the ſhips that remained with them, was a falſe ſtep they could never afterwards recover. In order, however, to hide theſe miſtakes from the eyes of the people of *France*, and to magnify the advantage gained to the utmoſt, a pompous account was printed at *Toulon*, full of very extraordinary circumſtances, and ſwelling the loſs of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* to the amount of ſixty millions of livres; that is, to about three times as much as it really was[m]. The modeſty and impartiality of the *Dutch* accounts of this unfortunate affair, deſerve particular notice. They ſtate the loſs very near as high as the beſt *French* writers; but at the ſame time they confeſs it had been much greater, but for the prudence of ſir *George Rooke*, on whoſe conduct they beſtow ſuch praiſes, as a compleat victory would ſcarce have extorted from his countrymen. I am, however, inclined to think he deſerved them; becauſe even biſhop *Burnet*, who was no great friend to that admiral, does not pretend to find out one wrong ſtep in this whole proceeding[n].

BUT

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which reflection is ſaid, to have put him upon expoſing himſelf in ſuch a manner at Malaga, as had like to have coſt him his life. [m] An extract of this account I have ſeen and read; and which, though calculated o do honour to the French nation, does in reality much more to the Dutch; for it is confeſſed, that eighteen French ſhips had much ado to maſter two of the States men of war. [n] The ſieur de Mont, who then wrote a political journal in Holland, gives this account of the matter. "This is certain, that they miſſed the greateſt part of "the convoy, and that ſir George Rooke, upon this occaſion, "acquired infinitely more honour, than thoſe who commanded "the French fleet. While the one, though unable to reſiſt "ſuch as attacked him in the midſt of threatning dangers, by

"his

BUT the conſequences of this engagement were no leſs fatal than the action itſelf; for M. *Tourville*, to make amends for letting ſo great a part of the *Engliſh* fleet eſcape, reſolved to do his utmoſt to take or deſtroy ſuch ſhips as had retired into the *Spaniſh* ports. With this view he came on the twentieth of *July* before *Malaga*, and ſent a meſſage to the governor, that he had no deſign to injure the town, unleſs they attempted to defend the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips; in which caſe he would bombard it. The governor anſwered, he had the king of *Spain*'s orders to protect them, and he would do it to the utmoſt of his power. There were four *Dutch* ſhips, and one *Engliſh* in the mole, which he attacked with great fury [o]. The men on board the ſhips made a long and gallant defence, eſpecially the *Union* frigate, which the *French* twice attempted to burn, and were as often repulſed. But, when it appeared a thing impoſſible to defend the ſhips any longer againſt ſo unequal a force, the maſters thought proper to bore holes and ſink them [p]. To *Cadiz* they ſent a ſquadron of fourteen men of war and two bomb-ketches, and ſoon after followed with the whole fleet. But they were able to effect little; for the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips immediately retired out of the road into the port, where they were ſo well defended by the cannon of the place, that the *French* were forced to content themſelves with burning two ſhips they had intercepted in the road, and had hindered from

" his prudence, dexterity, and courage, ſaved the beſt part of " the fleet committed to his charge, at a time that others ſuf- " fered themſelves to be deprived by the ſuperior ſkill of this " admiral, of a booty, which, if they could have kept it, for- " tune put into their hands."

[o] Burchet, Kennet, Oldmixon, Quincy, Daniel.

[p] Some have condemned this, as done too haſtily; but without queſtion, the next thing to preſerving a ſhip and cargo, is deſtroying it in time.

getting in with the reſt [q]. At *Gibraltar*, after an obſtinate defence, ſeveral rich ſhips were burnt and ſunk, together with a *Dutch* man of war. The marquis de *Quincy*, after relating theſe exploits particularly, tells us, that marſhal *Tourville* ſent twenty-four prizes into *Toulon*, and computes the whole loſs at thirty-ſix millions of livres, or thereabouts [r]. It is now time to return to admiral *Rooke*, and the care taken by him of the remainder of the fleet of merchant-men under his protection.

When he formed a reſolution of going to the *Madeiras*, he ſent home the *Lark* man of war with the news of his misfortune, and then continued his courſe for thoſe iſlands, where he found at his arrival the *Monk*, captain *Fairborne*, and no other ſhip [s]. After taking in water, and what elſe he had occaſion for there, on the twenty-ſeventh of *June* he ſailed for *Ireland*, and on the third of *Auguſt*, 1693, he arrived ſafely at *Cork*, with about fifty ſail of ſhips of all ſorts of men of war and merchant-men [t]. Soon after his arrival, he received orders from the admirals, to ſend ſix of

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[q] According to a Spaniſh liſt printed at Seville, the ſhips preſerved here, were three Engliſh men of war, ſixteen merchant-men, two Dutch men of war, eleven merchant-ſhips, three Danes, two Hamburghers, one Swede, one Oſtender, and one Venetian. Burchet reflects, notwithſtanding all this, on the governor of Cadiz; but, for all that I can find, without any reaſon; for, as to ſending M. Tourville ſome freſh proviſions for his own table, I look upon it as an act of civility, not of treachery. [r] The marquis ſteers in the middle. Marſhal Tourville's own account ſays, the maſters of the ſhips that were taken, computed the loſs at twenty millions; and the relation publiſhed by authority at Toulon, ſpeaks of ſixty millions. [s] Burchet's memoirs. [t] The ſieur du Mont, in his memoirs for the month of Auguſt, 1693, ſays, ſir George Rooke arrived with twelve ſail of Engliſh and Dutch men of war, and between forty and fifty ſail of merchant-ſhips.

of the largeſt ſhips to the fleet, and to go with the reſt to *Kinſale*. But ſir *George* conceiving that little ſervice could be expected from the latter, becauſe they were in a very bad condition, choſe therefore to ſend them under the command of captain *Fairborne* to *Kinſale*, and went in perſon with the ſix men of war to the fleet [v]; of the proceedings of which, from the time of ſir *George Rooke*'s departure, we are next to ſpeak, though that is both a difficult and unpleaſant ſubject.

THE flag-officers held a council of war on the ninth of *July*, in which it was reſolved to ſail forty leagues S. W. of *Uſhant*, and there to conſider what would be the next convenient ſtep for intercepting the enemy's fleet in their return from the *Mediterranean*. In purſuance of this reſolution, they put to ſea two days after; but were ſo terribly ruffled by a ſtorm, that they were forced to put into *Torbay*. Upon the ſeventeenth, the wind proving fair, they put to ſea again, and proceeded to their intended ſtation, from whence they ſent out light ſhips in ſearch of ſir *George Rooke*, and to cruize on the *Spaniſh* coaſt, in order to get ſome intelligence of the enemy. The former carried the orders, we have before mentioned, to the admiral; but the latter were not ſo lucky as to gain any light into the proceedings of the *French* fleet [w]. While things were in this condition, an accident happened which might have been attended with very ill conſequences. Our fleet had ſailed when they were very indifferently furniſhed with proviſions, upon a promiſe that theſe ſhould be immediately ſent after them. In the beginning of the month of *Auguſt*, fifty veſſels, laden with proviſions, ſailed from the

[v] Burchet's memoirs. [w] Burchet, Burnet, Kennet, Oldmixon, life of king William.

river of *Thames* in queſt of the fleet, under the convoy of two *Engliſh*, and five *Dutch* men of war: but the fleet being forced from their ſtation, they not only miſſed them, but loſt their convoy. They met, however, with ſir *George Rooke*'s ſquadron in its paſſage from *Kinſale*, and he brought them ſafe to the fleet on the ſixteenth of *Auguſt* [x]; and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month they had orders to return to St. *Helen*'s, where they put the four regiments, that had been on board the whole ſummer, on ſhore: and then the fleet was diſperſed, having done as little for the honour of the *Engliſh* nation, as any fleet that ever was fitted out [y].

On the nineteenth of *September*, 1693, fifteen *Dutch* ſhips of the line of battle, and two frigates, were ordered by his majeſty to *Holland*; and twenty-ſix men of war, and ſeven fire-ſhips, were aſſigned for the winter guard, which it was then thought would have put an end to the military operations of this year; but it ſoon after appeared, that there was yet a ſecret expedition to be undertaken, in order to ſoften a little the joy of the *French*, for having taken the *Smyrna* fleet [z].

On the thirteenth of *November*, commodore *Benbow*, in conjunction with captain *Phillips*, the engineer, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, four bomb-veſſels, and ten brigantines and well-boats, ſailed for St. *Maloes*, where they arrived on the ſixteenth, and about four in the afternoon anchored before *Quince-Fort*. Three of the bomb-veſſels, with the brigantines and well-boats, bore in,

[x] Preſent State of Europe, memoirs of admiral Rooke.
[y] Burchet, Burnet, Kennet, Oldmixon, &c. [z] It is remarkable, that this is not ſo much as mentioned by ſecretary Burchet.

in, and anchored within half a mile of the town. About eleven they began to fire, and continued firing till four in the morning, when they were conſtrained to wrap, to prevent grounding. On the ſeventeenth they went in again, and threw ſeventy bombs that day. They continued firing on the eighteenth, but with frequent intermiſſions, which made the inhabitants believe they were about to withdraw: however, they landed on an iſland near the town, and burnt a convent. On the nineteenth, being *Sunday*, they lay ſtill till the evening, when by the favour of a freſh gale of wind, a ſtrong tide, and a very dark night, they ſent in an extraordinary fire-ſhip [a], of about three hundred tons burthen, (which the *French* will have to be a monſtrous machine) and which was intended to have reduced the town to aſhes; and indeed would have done it, but for an unforeſeen accident, for ſhe ſtruck upon a rock, within piſtol-ſhot of the place where they intended to have moored her. The engineer, who was on board, did all he could to get her off, but to no purpoſe. At laſt, finding the veſſel begin to open, and fearing ſhe might ſink, he ſet fire to her. The ſea-water, which had penetrated in many places, prevented the carcaſſes from taking fire. The exploſion, however, was terrible, beyond deſcription; it ſhook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all glaſs and earthen-ware for three leagues round, and ſtruck off the roofs of three hundred houſes. The moſt extraordinary thing of all was this, that the capſtain of the veſſel, which weighed two hundred weight, was carried over the walls, and beat a houſe it fell upon, down to the ground [b]. The greateſt part of the walls towards the

[a] I take theſe particulars from commodore Benbow's account.

[b] The French writers ſay, that this was one of thoſe dreadful machines

the ſea alſo fell down; and, if there had been a ſufficient number of land-troops on board, the place might with eaſe have been taken and pillaged. As it was, they demoliſhed *Quince Fort*, carried off eighty priſoners, and frightned moſt of the people out of the town. This expedition was well timed, and well executed. It ſtruck a panick into the inhabitants of St. *Maloes*, whence the moſt troubleſome of the *French* privateers were fitted out, and it ſerved to awake that whole nation from their golden dreams of the empire of the ſea, by ſhewing them what a very ſmall ſquadron of *Engliſh* ſhips could do, when commanded by men of reſolution and experience.

THE king returned to *England* in the latter end of the month of *October*, 1693, under the eſcorte of a ſmall ſquadron of men of war, commanded by rear-admiral *Mitchel*. On the ſixth of *November* his majeſty declared his reſolution to employ admiral *Ruſſel* the next year at ſea. On the

machines ſtiled infernals; which the Dutch made uſe of to deſtroy the bridge over the Scheldt, when the prince of Parma beſieged Antwerp, in the year 1585. The reader will perceive by the following deſcription, that it was in fact a fire ſhip, contrived to operate when moored cloſe to the town walls. It was a new ſhip, of about 300, or, as the marquis de Quincy ſays, 350 tons. At the bottom of the hold, were 100 barrels of powder; theſe were covered with pitch, ſulphur, roſin, tow, ſtraw, and faggots; over which lay beams, bored through to give air to the fire; and upon theſe, lay 300 carcaſſes filled with grenadoes, chain ſhot, iron bullets, piſtols loaded, and wrapt in linnen pitched, broken iron bars, and the bottoms of glaſs-bottles. There were ſix holes, or mouths, to let out the flames, which were ſo vehement, as to conſume the hardeſt ſubſtances; and could be checked by nothing, but the pouring in of hot water. The French report, that the engineer who contrived this veſſel, was blown up in her; becauſe they found the body of a man, well dreſſed, upon the ſhore, and in his pocket book a journal of the expedition. He was, however, only a mate to one of the veſſels.

the ſeventh the parliament met, and his majeſty opened the ſeſſions with a ſpeech which began thus. "I am always glad to meet you here, and I could heartily wiſh "that our ſatisfaction were not leſſened at preſent, by reflecting upon the diſadvantages we have received this "year at land, and the miſcarriages in our affairs at ſea. "I think it is evident, that the former was only occaſioned by the great number of our enemies, which exceeded ours in all places. For what relates to the latter, "which has brought ſo great a diſgrace upon the nation, I "have reſented it extremely [c]; and, as I will take care that "thoſe who have not done their duty ſhall be puniſhed, "ſo I am reſolved to uſe my utmoſt endeavours that our "power at ſea may be rightly managed for the future. "And it may well deſerve your conſideration, whether "we are not defective both in the number of our ſhipping, "and in proper ports to the weſtward for the better annoying our enemies, and protecting our trade, which is "ſo eſſential to the welfare of this kingdom." Upon this the houſe of commons came unanimouſly to a reſolution, that

[c] There had been an enquiry ſet on foot before the council, as appears from the following notice, printed in the London-Gazette, October 25th, 1693.

"Whereas a report has been raiſed, and ſpread, by Henry "Killegrew, eſq; ſir Ralph Delaval, and ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, "admirals of their majeſties fleet, that the right honourable "the lord viſcount Falkland, one of the lords of their majeſties "moſt honourable privy council, (he was alſo at the head of "the admiralty) did, upon reading a paper at the board, ſtifle "ſomething that was material to their juſtification; the lords "of the council, having conſidered and examined into the "matter, are ſatisfied, and do declare, that the report is falſe "and ſcandalous. Although upon examination, it did alſo "appear, that ſomething happened, which might miſlead the "admirals into that error. And it is ordered in council, that "this be printed in the Gazette."

that they would ſupport their majeſties and their government, enquire into the miſcarriages of the fleet in the preceding ſummer, and conſider of all poſſible ways and means for conſerving the trade of the nation.

THE houſe of commons, to ſhew they were in earneſt, examined all the admirals ſtrictly, particularly ſir *George Rooke*, though he was ſo ill as to be ſcarce able to ſpeak, and withal ſo lame of the gout, that a chair was ſet for him at the bar of the houſe. On the ſeventeenth of *November* they came to a reſolution, "That, upon examination of "the miſcarriages of the fleet, this houſe is of opinion, "that there hath been a notorious and treacherous miſma-"nagement in that affair." Yet afterwards a negative was put on a reſolution, to cenſure the admiral's commanding in chief; and ſo by degrees, after much noiſe and clamour, the matter blew over. Two circumſtances contributed principally to their ſafety; the firſt was, that it could not be made clear to the houſe, that the admirals had information of the *Breſt* ſquadron's putting to ſea on the eleventh of *May*, though it was evident that ſuch advice had been given to the privy-council: the ſecond, that the lord *Falkland*, who was very active in this proſecution of the admirals, fell under the diſpleaſure of the houſe, for very indirect practices in relation to the navy; which gave the more offence, becauſe he was at that time firſt commiſſioner of the *Admiralty*. Upon the whole, regard to truth obliges me to ſay, that there was enough done in this affair to irritate and inflame, and very little to calm or ſatisfy the nation; which laſt, however, ought to be the end of all parliamentary enquiries [d].

BUT,

[d] What biſhop Burnet ſays on this ſubject, is ſo conciſe, and at the ſame time ſo ſtrong, and to the purpoſe, that I think myſelf obliged to lay it before the reader, for his further information. "The

BUT, notwithſtanding the admirals eſcaped, yet many things were laid open in the houſe of commons, which reflected extremely on the management of the navy. It appeared, particularly, that the ſum of 1,036,415*l.* was due for ſeamen's wages. This ſtruck the houſe with aſtoniſhment, and accounted at the ſame time very fully for the backwardneſs of the ſailors in entering into the public ſervice. To provide a remedy for ſo great an evil, and to encourage

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"The enquiry into the conduct at ſea, particularly with "relation to the Smyrna fleet, took up much time, and held "long. Great exceptions were taken to the many delays, "by which, it ſeemed, a train was laid, that they ſhould not "get out of our ports, till the French were ready to lie in their "way and intercept them. Our want of intelligence was "much complained of: the inſtructions that the admirals who "commanded the fleet had received from the cabinet-council, "were thought ill given, and yet worſe executed. Their or-"ders ſeemed weakly drawn, ambiguous, and defective: nor "had they ſhewed any zeal in doing more than ſtrictly to "obey ſuch orders: they had very cautiouſly kept within "them, and had been very careful never to exceed them in a "tittle. They had uſed no diligence to get certain informa-"tion concerning the French fleet, whether it was ſtill in Breſt, "or had ſailed out. But in that important matter, they had "truſted general and uncertain reports too eaſily. Nor had "they ſailed far enough with Rooke to ſee him paſt danger. "To all this, their anſwer was, that they had obſerved their "orders: they had reaſon to think the French were ſtill in "Breſt; that therefore it was not ſafe to ſail too far from the "coaſt of England, when they had, as they underſtood, ground "to believe, that they had left behind them a great naval "force, which might make an impreſſion on our coaſt, when "they were at too great a diſtance from it. The getting cer-"tain intelligence from Breſt, was repreſented as impractica-"ble. They had many ſpecious things to ſay in their own "defence, and many friends to ſupport them: for it was now "the buſineſs of one party to accuſe, and of another to juſtify "their conduct. In concluſion, there was not ground ſufficient "to condemn the admirals, ſince they had followed their in-"ſtructions: ſo a vote paſſed in their favour."

encourage the ſeamen for the future, the commons voted 500,000*l.* towards the diſcharge of the debt, and 2,000,000*l.* for the ſervice of the fleet, that his majeſty might be able to perform the promiſe he had made them, of taking care that things ſhould go next year better at ſea [e]. His majeſty alſo made ſeveral changes in the miniſtry, which gave great ſatisfaction; for the late enquiries had made it evident, that the dependants on ſome great men were principally concerned in giving information to the *French* of all our motions. A conduct which, however coloured with their pretended affection for their old maſter king *James*, was a moſt groſs and glaring treaſon againſt their country; ſuch as ought to have drawn upon them the ſevereſt puniſhments while living, and which deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſterity with a proper note of infamy, to prevent like practices in ſucceeding times.

BEFORE we ſpeak of the naval operations of the year 1694, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of the ſending ſir *Francis Wheeler*, with his ſquadron, into the *Mediterranean*, as that was a meaſure not only concerted, but executed in the preceding year; though its being altogether independant of other affairs, made it not ſo proper to mention it before. The great blow the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* commerce had received there, by the intercepting the *Smyrna* fleet, and the danger there was in leaving the remains of that fleet any longer in *Spaniſh* harbours, engaged the board of *Admiralty* to ſend their orders for ſir *Francis Wheeler* to proceed with a ſquadron of twenty-five men of war and frigates, in conjunction with a *Dutch* vice-admiral and his ſquadron, to the *Mediterranean*, where he had inſtructions to uſe his utmoſt endeavour to procure the ſafe return

[e] Kennet, Oldmixon, Chandler's debates.

return of the plate-fleet into *Cadiz*; then he was to leave a ſufficient convoy for bringing home the ſhips in that port to *England*: he was next to convoy the *Turkey* ſhips as far as the channel of *Malta*; then, in conjunction with the *Spaniſh* fleet, he was to annoy the enemy's trade, till he judged his detached ſhips were about to return; and after joining them at the appointed place of rendezvous, he was to bring back with him all the merchant-ſhips ready to ſail from any of the ports in the *Streights*, or from *Cadiz* [f]. On the twenty-ſeventh of *November*, in purſuance of theſe inſtructions, he ſailed, and on the fourth of *December* ſent the ſhips bound to *Oporto* thither under a convoy, as two days after he did thoſe bound for *Lisbon* and St. *Ubes*; and having by his vigilance prevented a deſign of the *French* to intercept part of the merchant-ſhips under his convoy, he arrived on the nineteenth of *January* in the bay of *Cadiz*, having loſt company in his paſſage, with only one of a hundred and ſixty-five ſhips which ſailed with him from *England* [g]. So happy was the beginning of an expedition, which proved afterwards ſo unfortunate!

On the admiral's arriving at *Cadiz*, he found the *Spaniſh* fleet in no condition to ſail; but had the ſatisfaction of finding the *Flota* ſafely arrived [h]. On the twenty-fifth of *January* rear-admiral *Nevile* joined him with the ſhips he had ordered to cruize off cape St. *Vincent*, together with the

[f] Theſe inſtructions may be found at large in Burchet's memoirs, p. 201. and are indiſputably thoſe given to the admiral. But the French publiſhed abundance of ſtrange ſtories about ſir Francis Wheeler's commiſſion; ſuch as that he intended to bombard Genoa, in order to force that republic to comply with the demands of the king of Spain; that he had views on the pope's territories, and whatever elſe they thought might prove a means of incenſing the Italian princes. [g] See the Preſent State of Europe, for January, 1694. [h] Burchet's memoirs, p. 206.

the detached convoys which the *French* in vain had endeavoured to intercept. Sir *Francis Wheeler*, upon this, appointed a ſquadron of four *Engliſh* and as many *Dutch* men of war, with a fire-ſhip, under the command of vice-admiral *Hopſon*, to bring home the merchant-ſhips that were ready; and on the tenth of *February*, ſailed with the reſt of the ſquadron to execute the remaining part of his inſtructions. On the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, being off the bay of *Gibraltar*, and having been driven out of the *Streights-Mouth*, he met with a ſtorm, which increaſed till the nineteenth in the morning, when the admiral ſeeing the *Gut*, ſtood away for it, and made a proper ſignal to the reſt of the fleet, and was followed by vice-admiral *Callemberg*, who firſt ſaw his ſignal, and other ſhips. But they, having the bay of *Gibraltar* open, and in all probability miſtaking it for the *Streights-Mouth*, put in there, which occaſioned their unhappy misfortune; for it being a lee-ſhore, foul ground, and their ſails flying into the air, they were forced to let go their anchors, of which many were loſt, moſt of their cables ſpoiled, and ſeveral of their ſhips run on ſhore [i]. In the mean time the *Suſſex*, on board

[i] The particulars of this misfortune may be ſeen in the following LIST.

	Men.
The Cambridge, a ſhip of 70 guns, ran aſhore about four in the morning, and loſt	100
The Lumley Caſtle, loſt	130
The Serpent bomb-veſſel, foundered	15
The William ketch, ran aſhore	15
The Mary ketch, foundered	16
The Great George, a Turkey ſhip, loſt	90
The Aleppo Factor, loſt	3
The Golden Frigate, of Venice, loſt	25
The Berkſhire, a Turkey ſhip	15
The Indian-Merchant, a Turkey ſhip	2
The William, for Leghorn, loſt	1
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board which the admiral was, foundered at ſea, and himſelf, with all his crew, to the number of five hundred and fifty, were loſt, only two *Turks* eſcaping. The admiral's body was ſoon after found on a ſand-bank in his ſhirt and ſlippers, it was gueſſed from thence, that ſeeing the ſhip about to ſink, he intended to have thrown himſelf into the ſea, and attempt to ſave himſelf by ſwimming[k]. The whole ſquadron ſuffered extremely, and were obliged to remain, by contrary winds, a long time at *Gibraltar*, and at length, in the beginning of *May*, ſailed for *Cadiz*[l]. In the mean time vice-admiral *Hopſon*, in purſuance of the orders before-mentioned, ſailed with the homeward-bound ſhips, and arrived ſafely off the *Lizard* on the fifth of *April*, 1694[m].

We have before obſerved one of the firſt ſteps taken by king *William* after his return from *Flanders*, and his hearing of the unfortunate affair of the *Smyrna* fleet, was, the appointing *Edward Ruſſel*, eſq; admiral and commander in chief of the fleet which ſhould put to ſea the next ſpring. As a further teſtimony of his majeſty's confidence in that great man, he directed a new commiſſion of *Admiralty*, wherein *Edward Ruſſel*, eſq; ſir *John Lowther*, *Henry Prieſtman*, eſq; *Robert Auſten*, eſq; ſir *Robert Rich*, ſir *George Rooke*, and ſir *George Hubland*, were included[n]. The command of the fleet being thus provided for, the next thing was, to fix on ſuch deſigns as were proper for retrieving the glory of the *Engliſh* arms, and blotting out the memory of the unfortunate accidents that had lately happened.

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[k] We have ſeveral accounts of this in the Gazettes; and his body was afterwards embalmed, and ſent into England. [l] Burchet; Kennet. [m] State of Europe, Pointer's chronological hiſtory, life of king William. [n] See the Preſent State of Europe, for May, 1694.

happened. In the first place it was resolved, that a descent should be actually made on the *French* coast, in order to effect what had been long ago proposed, the erecting a fort on a certain promontory near *Brest*, which would have commanded that haven, and have entirely prevented the assembling, as the *French* were wont to do, their grand fleets there o. It was also judged requisite to send a strong fleet into the *Mediterranean*, as well to succour the king of *Spain*, whose affairs were much distressed by the *French* naval power, as to prevent the *Toulon* squadron from coming into the ocean, and hindering the *French* thereby from making any figure this year at sea p. In order to accomplish these schemes, all imaginable pains were taken both in *England* and *Holland*, to fit out a more numerous fleet, and to send it earlier to sea, than in any year since the war began.

On the first of *May*, admiral *Russel* joined the fleet at St. *Helens*, which consisted of fifty-two *English*, and forty-one *Dutch* ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and other smaller vessels. On the third the admiral sailed with the grand fleet, leaving sir *Cloudesley Shovel* with a strong squadron at *Portsmouth*, in order to embark the land forces. On the ninth, being fifteen leagues S. S. W. of the *Lizard*, the admiral was informed by the captain of a *Swedish* ship, that there lay in *Bertaume-Bay*, a fleet of *French* merchant-men, bound to the eastward, upon which he immediately detached captain *Pritchard*, in the *Monmouth*, together with the *Resolution* and the *Roebuck* fire-ships, with orders either to take or destroy them. Accordingly on the tenth,

o Histoire militaire; P. Daniel; memoirs du Temps; Burnet's history of his own times, vol. ii. p. 129, 130. p Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William.

tenth, as ſoon as it was light, they made the *French* ſhore about ſeven miles from the fleet, and by five o'clock they ſaw ſeveral ſhips behind a point of land near *Conquet-Bay*, which, upon a ſignal given from one of their ſcouts, immediately put to ſea. In the mean time captain *Pritchard* purſued the man of war that was their convoy, and forced her to haul in with the ſhore, and run againſt the rocks under the outermoſt caſtle; and this man of war proved to be the *Jerſey* frigate, which the enemy had taken from us in the *Weſt Indies*, and which ſoon after blew up, and with her two ſloops of between ten and ſixteen guns. The merchant-ſhips were in all about fifty-five ſail, of which thirty-five were burnt or ſunk, twenty-five in *Whiteſand Bay*, four on the ſouth ſide of the point of the bay, and ſix on the ſouth ſide of *Conquet*, their lading being for the moſt part, ſalt, wine, and brandy. Some few days after, two other ſhips took and deſtroyed ſeventeen *French* veſſels laden with corn and other proviſions [q].

THE admiral returned back again to St. *Helens* by that time he judged that ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel* could have executed the orders he had left with him; and finding the land-forces completely embarked, and every thing ready, he ſailed with the whole fleet on the twenty-ninth of *May*, having before given the neceſſary directions for the ſeparating, at a proper ſtation, of the ſquadron that was intended for the *Breſt* expedition, and which was to be commanded by the lord *Berkley* [r]. On the laſt day of the month, at nine in the morning, a council of war was held on board the *Britannia*, at which were preſent the following perſons, *viz. Edward Ruſſel*, eſq; admiral of the fleet; the lord *Berkley*, admiral

[q] Preſent State of Europe. [r] Journal of the Breſt expedition, by the marquis of Carmarthen, London, 1694, 4to. p. 5.

of the *Blue*; ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, vice-admiral of the *Red*; colonel *Aylmer*, vice-admiral of the *Blue*; colonel *Mitchel*, rear-admiral of the *Red*; the marquis of *Carmarthen*, rear-admiral of the *Blue*; captain *Bing*, eldeſt captain to the admiral, lieutenant-general *Talmaſh*, the earl of *Macclesfield*, the lord *Cutts*, ſir *Martin Beckman*, admiral *Allemonde*, admiral of the *Dutch*, vice-admiral *Vander-Putten*, vice-admiral *Schey*, vice-admiral *Vander-Goes*, rear-admiral *Evertzen*, and captain *Vander-Duſſen*, in which it was reſolved, that the fleet deſigned for *Breſt*, ſhould immediately proceed to *Camaret-Bay*, and ſhould land the forces on board under the direction of lieutenant-general *Talmaſh*, and the neceſſary inſtructions were given to lord *Berkley*, and the officers that were to command under him [1].

On the fifth of *June* the lord *Berkley* parted with his ſquadron from the grand fleet, having with him twenty-nine *Engliſh* and *Dutch* men of war of the line, beſides ſmall frigates, fire-ſhips, machines, tenders, well-boats, and five bomb-ketches. On the ſixth, a council of war was held, in which the proper meaſures were taken for landing the forces; and it was agreed, that lord *Cutts* ſhould command ſix hundred grenadiers, and lieutenant-general *Talmaſh* advance in perſon, at the head of the troops that were to ſupport them. On the ſeventh the fleet came to an anchor between *Camaret-Bay* and the bay of *Bertaume*, the *French* playing upon them with bombs from four batteries. The marquis of *Carmarthen* demanded leave of lord *Berkley*, the admiral, to go into *Camaret-Bay*, in order to obſerve the ſituation of the forts, and the poſture of the enemy. On his lordſhip's return, and making his report, the admiral ordered two ſixty gun ſhips to go

[1] See theſe inſtructions in Burchet's memoirs, p. 215.

go in and cover the boats while they were landing: to which the marquis objecting that it was too ſmall a force, a council of war was called on the eighth, in which it was reſolved to ſend in three *Engliſh*, and as many *Dutch* frigates, beſides the two men of war before-mentioned. One of theſe, however, the *Richmond*, deſerted the poſt aſſigned her, and the marquis of *Carmarthen* carried in the other five, and poſted them in their proper places, which, though a neceſſary, was a very dangerous ſervice; ſince at their going in, a bomb broke over the *Monk*, a great piece of which ſtruck through her poop, and two decks more, and came out again into the water near one of the ſtern-ports, on the larboard-ſide, in the gun room, killing three marines, and one of them by the ſide of the marquis. So ſoon as the *Monk* got into the bay, and came up with the weſtern point, *Camaret-Fort* fired upon her very warmly; and when the reſt of the ſhips were properly poſted, they were ſurprized to find themſelves played upon from three batteries, not one of which was diſcerned till they felt the ſhot from it. Theſe military compliments they returned with great ſpirit, and by keeping a brisk and continual fire, covered the troops in their landing, which was not, however, performed with that regularity that might have been expected [t]. The reaſon of this, ſince I do not find it already ſet down in any of our hiſtorians, I think myſelf obliged to give, as I have had it from the mouths of many who were engaged in that warm ſervice. The *French* had been ſo well informed of our deſign, and ſuch ſtrange delays had been made in embarking the forces, that when our fleet came upon the coaſt, they found the *French* every

[t] See the marquis of Carmarthen's account, p. 21. Burchet's memoirs, p. 222. life of king William.

where covered by impregnable entrenchments, and supported by a body of regular troops, more numerous than the forces intended for this deſcent. This was repreſented to lieutenant-general *Talmaſh* in the council of war, and he was adviſed not to expoſe himſelf or his men: to which he anſwered, "This advice comes too late: the honour "of the *Engliſh* nation is at ſtake, and therefore I muſt "and will land. I know that I ſacrifice myſelf and the "men; but it is neceſſary, and muſt be done, that both "our enemies and allies may know, that even deſperate "undertakings cannot daunt *Engliſh* courage [u]." He embarked on board the ſmall veſſels, with about eight hundred men, and landed as many of them as he could; but to very little purpoſe, for ſeveral of the well-boats ſticking, all that were in them were either killed or wounded, before they could get to the ſhore; and thoſe that did land, were very ſoon driven back to their boats, and with much difficulty carried off again. Amongſt the wounded was lieutenant-general *Talmaſh* himſelf, who received a ſhot in his thigh, of which he ſoon after died [w]. The marquis of *Car-*

[u] This project, as I have been informed, was firſt propoſed by a land officer to the earl of Nottingham, ſome years before; and hints of it having been given to the French, they reſolved to ſpare no coſt or pains, in order to prevent a ſcheme from taking effect, which they knew would have deprived them of the beſt port they have in this part of the world.

[w] Both the marquis de Quincy and father Daniel commend the bravery of ſome French officers; who, they ſay, attacked and routed the Engliſh troops that were landed; and this with ſo ſmall a force as one hundred and twenty men, ſupported, however, by a regiment of dragoons. The glory of this will be ſufficiently diminiſhed, when it is known, that not above three hundred did land; and that many of theſe were wounded in getting aſhore, and were ſo much expoſed to the enemy's artillery, that they never could be formed into any tolerable order.

Carmarthen, afterwards duke of *Leeds*, whoſe courage no man ever called in queſtion, tells us on this occaſion, that if the *Engliſh* force had been double to what it was, they would have found the attempt impracticable. When the men on board the ſhips ſaw a few boats come off again, and the whole affair over, they began to be out of heart, and the marquis had much ado to bring them out of the bay. The *Monk* had not either a yard or ſail, but was towed off; the reſt of the veſſels were alſo brought away with great difficulty, except a *Dutch* frigate called the *Teeſep*, of thirty guns, which had twelve foot water in her hold, all her men being killed except eight, and of half an *Engliſh* company that was accidentally left on board her, only an enſign, a drummer, and a private man eſcaped; ſo that they were obliged to leave her behind. A council of war being called in the evening, it was reſolved therein to return to *Spithead*. The loſs upon this occaſion was computed at ſeven hundred of the land forces killed, wounded, and taken, and about four hundred killed and wounded on board the ſhips [x].

[x] The marquis of Carmarthen, in his account, does great juſtice to all the officers employed in this deſperate ſervice. He ſays, particularly, page 46, "My lord Berkley, during all this "expedition, has had a great deal of unuſual trouble, by reaſon "of the imbarkations of the ſoldiers; notwithſtanding which, "both by his advice at councils of war, and iſſuing of orders, "which his lordſhip has done very methodically, he hath be-"haved himſelf, in my opinion, with all the conduct and pru-"dence that could be expected from a gentleman in his ſtation.

"Lieutenant general Talmaſh, the earl of Macclesfield, my "lord Cutts, and all the officers of the land forces, I think, "have ſhewn all the forwardneſs and readineſs imaginable for "the attempting any thing that was poſſible to be done on this "occaſion. There are no officers of note, that I can yet hear

"of

THE marquis de *Quincy*, who is at once the moſt exact and moſt moderate of all the *French* writers, informs us, that at the time this attempt was made, M. de *Vauban* had taken care to put the town of *Breſt* into an excellent ſtate of defence. It was ſurrounded with ſtrong walls, good ramparts, large and deep ditches cut in the rock, with baſtions and half-moons at proper diſtances. He had erected a new battery of ſixteen pieces of cannon and ſix mortars on the baſtion of the town, neareſt the caſtle, between it and the grand battery, with ſeveral ſmaller batteries in other places. He had likewiſe taken care to render all the vaults in the caſtle bomb proof, and had made the beſt diſpoſition poſſible of ninety mortars, and three hundred pieces of cannon. As for the veſſels in the port, they were placed out of the reach even of bombs; and with reſpect to men, he had fourteen hundred bombardiers, three thouſand gentlemen, who ſerved as voluntiers, and of regular troops four thouſand foot, and a regiment of dragoons y. General *Talmaſh*'s landing therefore with eight hundred men, might well be called a ſacrifice, and yet more than half of theſe could never be got on ſhore; we muſt, therefore, admit, that when the marquis ſays four hundred were killed, five hundred forty-eight ſoldiers and forty officers made priſoners, he carries the thing a little too far. Father *Daniel*, however, and ſome other writers, carry it as far; and, indeed, moſt of them agree in computing our whole loſs at two thouſand. As to what they ſay of ſhips being ſunk, and

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" of, killed in this action, but monſieur Lamote; and lieute-
" nant-general Talmaſh died the Tueſday following, of the
" wound he received in his thigh. But there are ſeveral cap-
" tains, &c. who are either killed or taken, whoſe names I am
" as yet ignorant of." y Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iii. p. 77, 78, 79.

and hundreds of men drowned in the retreat, they are mere ornaments neceſſary to a *French* detail, as their having but forty-five men killed in this action, is another ſtroke of the marvellous, which every reader, perhaps, may not be in the humour to credit [z].

AFTER this unlucky attempt, the poor wounded lieutenant-general propoſed, that a ſmall ſquadron of frigates and bomb-veſſels might be ſent into the harbour of *Breſt*, to bombard that town; but this was judged to be a raſh, and, as things ſtood, an impracticable undertaking, and therefore lord *Berkley* ſailed immediately for our own coaſts, and arrived on the fifteenth of *June*, 1694, at St. *Helens*. There they found the queen's orders to call a council of war, to conſider how the ſhips and troops might be beſt employed. After ſeveral conſultations, it was reſolved to keep no more than four regiments on board, and to make ſome attempts on the coaſt of *Normandy*. Advice of this being ſent to court, and an anſwer being returned on the twenty-ſeventh of *June*, it was reſolved in another council of war, firſt to bombard the town of *Diep*, and then to proceed along the *French* coaſt, and do every where what prejudice they could. In purſuance of this reſolution they came before that place, but were forced to ſea by a ſtorm, and afterwards anchored off *Dungeneſs*, from whence they ſailed on the fifth of *July*, and arrived once more in *Diep* road on the eighth. The next day they intended to have bombarded the place, but were prevented by foul weather for ſeveral days together [a].

ON the twelfth they began about nine in the morning to play upon the town of *Diep*, and continued without

[z] Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 177, 178, par P. Daniel.
[a] Burchet's memoirs, p. 225. State of Europe, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

ceaſing till about nine at night. About eleven they ſent in one of their machines with an intent to burn the pier; but ſeveral veſſels full of ſtones being ſunk before it, rendered that ineffectual, ſo that, except aſtoniſhing the town by the mighty noiſe, it did little miſchief [b]. Captain *Dunbar*, a *Scots* gentleman, who commanded it, acquired immortal honour on this occaſion; for the train not taking effect as was expected, he went on board again, and finding the fuzee out, ſet fire to it a ſecond time, for which he and thoſe who went with him, were deſervedly rewarded [c]. They continued the bombardment afterwards till day-light, and the ſtreets being narrow, the houſes old, and moſt of them built of timber, the town was on fire in twenty places at once, ſo that the far greater part of it was conſumed to aſhes [d]. The *French* court did all they could to ſtifle the report of this, at leaſt at *Paris*; but the place was too near for any ſuch artifices to take effect, ſo that by endeavouring to leſſen, they really increaſed the people's apprehenſion, and all the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts would have abandoned their towns and villages, if forces had not been ſent to reſtrain them [e].

After the bombardment of *Diep*, the *Engliſh* ſquadron ſailed along the coaſt, and obliged the *French* to march night

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[b] Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon. [c] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 501. [d] In the dates I generally follow the French writers, reducing the new ſtile to the old, becauſe they are uſually more exact than our own. Father Daniel owns the total deſtruction of Diep; but ſays, it was immediately built up again at the expence of the French king. If ſo, the inhabitants muſt be daily put in mind of the Engliſh maritime power, by this very improvement of their town. [e] See ſeveral letters printed in the Preſent State of Europe, for the month of July, 1694; and the fact is confirmed by the French accounts.

night and day, in order to prevent the debarking any troops; which, however, was a thing the *Engliſh* admiral never intended [f]. On the fifteenth, about noon, lord *Berkley* arrived at *Havre de Grace*, and about four o'clock he began to bombard it. On the ſixteenth, ſeventeenth, and eighteenth, the *French* poured troops into the place, in order to aſſiſt the inhabitants to put out the fires lighted from time to time by the bombs; and as the wind continued blowing all that time directly from the ſhore, the *Engliſh* were not able to do much, though they ſtill continued before the place, which threw all the adjacent country into a terrible conſternation. On the twenty-firſt, the wind being favourable, the ſmall craft and bomb-veſſels were ſent in, and continued bombarding the place the whole night, by which a third part of the town was burnt down, a great part of the wall demoliſhed, and abundance of people killed [g]. All this, however, could not be performed without loſs; many of the mortars melted, the *Grenado* bomb-ſhip was blown up, and the reſt of the ſmall

[f] Burchet, Kennet, Quincy, Daniel, &c. [g] The marquis de Quincy aſſerts poſitively, that there were not above twenty houſes burnt in the town; but then he admits, that not only the inhabitants, but a vaſt number of ſoldiers, who were ſent thither on purpoſe, laboured exceſſively in putting out the fires wherever the bombs fell; which muſt have been attended with great loſs of men, and other inconveniencies. But I muſt confeſs, I ſee no juſt cauſe why a medal ſhould have been ſtruck, on the bombarding of this place, rather than Diep. Yet ſuch a one there was; having on one ſide, the king's head in profile, with theſe words, Gulielmus magnus invictiſſimus; on the reverſe was, Perillus's bull, with this inſcription, Suis perit ignibus auctor: alluding to the French king's having begun this barbarous kind of war, by burning the Palatinate, and bombarding Genoa. In the exergue, Portus Gratiæ, exuſtus, et everſus bombardis Anglo Batavis, 1694. I. B. F.

ſmall craft ſo ſhattered, that it was thought convenient to retire. But even in doing this, care was taken to give the *French* infinite diſquiet; for appearing before *La Hogue*, the *French* forces were drawn that way, but our ſquadron was in no condition to undertake any thing, and therefore, after alarming the enemy as much as poſſible, lord *Berkley* returned to St. *Helens* on the twenty-ſixth of *July*, 1694, in order to refit [h].

THE court was very deſirous that ſomething ſhould be undertaken againſt *Dunkirk*, and to that purpoſe ſeveral expreſſes were diſpatched to the fleet; but upon a nice examination of the ſeveral propoſals made by the engineers and pilots, they were all of opinion, that the ſeaſon was too far advanced, and that nothing could be undertaken this year with any probability of ſucceſs. A plan was then ſent of *Calais*, which came from the king in *Flanders*; but the ſcheme of bombarding that place was alſo judged impracticable by a council of war, which was chiefly owing to the diffidence of the pilots [i]. On the twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt* lord *Berkley* returned to *London*, and the command of the fleet, which conſiſted now only of frigates and ſmall ſhips, devolved on ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, whoſe inſtructions were expreſs to undertake ſomething againſt *Dunkirk*, at all events. Mr. *Meeſters*, who was the inventor and manager of the machines called *Infernals*, was at this time in *Flanders*, endeavouring to collect pilots able to carry the ſquadron into the harbour of *Dunkirk*, or at leaſt ſo far into the road, as might enable them to deſtroy the enemy's ſhips. Sir *Cloudeſley* ſailed to the *Downs* in the beginning of *September*, and on the ſeventh was joined by Mr. *Meeſters*, with twenty-ſix *Dutch* pilots, when captain *Benbow*

[h] Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon. [i] Burchet's memoirs, p. 227.

Benbow was appointed to command the ſmall ſhips, and to follow the directions of Mr. *Meeſters*, whoſe pilots did not perform what was expected from them [k]. On the twelfth, however, ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel* appeared before the town of *Dunkirk*, with thirteen *Engliſh* and ſix *Dutch* men of war, two bomb-veſſels, ſeventeen machines, and other ſmall craft. In the evening captain *Benbow* went in, and ſounded the weſtern channel, between the *Brake* and the *Main*, notwithſtanding a prodigious fire from the ſhips and the citadel. The next day all the boats and ſmall veſſels were ſent in again, with the *Charles* galley, two bomb-veſſels, and ſome of the machines. In the afternoon two of the machines were ſent in. The firſt took fire before ſhe was near enough to do any execution: whether it was that the cannon of the place ſet fire to it, as ſome of the *French* writers ſay, or that thoſe on board, finding it impoſſible either to bring it nearer, or to get it off, were obliged to let it burn there. The other, which was the biggeſt, went in boldly, and advanced very near the mole-head; but the tide ſet her on one ſide, ſo that ſhe drove a cable's length, and then blew up [l]. It was found, that the *French* had, according to cuſtom, early intelligence of this deſign, and by driving piles before the pier-head, and ſinking ſhips on the back of the weſtermoſt pier, had ſecured themſelves againſt

[k] This ignorance, cowardice, or wilfulneſs of the pilot, ſeems to have been the chief cauſe of this miſcarriage; and whoever conſiders attentively, what has been written upon this ſubject, by ſuch as are beſt acquainted with maritime affairs, will be of my opinion, that ſeamen, above all others, are leaſt inclined to expeditions of this ſort. And, as ſuch expeditions can only be executed by ſeamen, it may well be ſuppoſed, that this is the great reaſon why they ſo ſeldom ſucceed. [l] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iii. p. 84, 85. Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 197.

againſt all attempts of this nature: ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel* being informed of this, and knowing that the ſpring-tides were over, ſailed away for *Calais*, and on the ſeventeenth ſent the bomb-veſſels in, and threw ſo many ſhells into the town, that about forty houſes were ruined; but the wind blowing hard that night, and a great ſwell of ſea happening, the admiral was forced to bear away, and the ſtorm continuing two days, he thought it not convenient to ſtay any longer, but returned with his whole ſquadron into the *Downs*, from whence the bomb-veſſels and machines were ſent into the river *Thames* [m].

It was the opinion of ſecretary *Burchet*, who had, without queſtion, good grounds for what he delivered, that the expence to which the nation was put by theſe bombardments, was more than equivalent to what the enemy ſuffered by them [n]. It is certain, that all the ſea-faring part of the world diſapproved this manner of carrying on the war at that time; and that all the writers, who have touched upon this ſubject, have been carried away by the ſtream of their authority; which, however, has not the ſame effect on me. In the firſt place, I think the manner in which the *French* had carried on the war in *Germany*, their bombarding the city of *Genoa*, but above all their pyratically lying in wait for, and plundering our *Smyrna* fleet, and their purſuing and bombarding the remains of it in the ports of *Spain*, fully juſtified this manner of proceeding. I muſt next obſerve, that, if we conſider the expence the king of *France* muſt have been at in providing for the ſecurity of *Breſt*, and the inconveniencies that muſt have attended the ſending M. *Vauban* that way with a corps of 12,000

[m] Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William, &c.
[n] Naval memoirs, p. 234.

12,000 regular troops, the marquis de *Beauvron* with great detachment to *Diep*, marſhal de *Choiſeuil* to *Havre de Grace*, the Duke of *Maine*, count *Tolouſe*, and marſhal *Villeroy*, with the greateſt part of the army in *Flanders*, to *Dunkirk* [o]: I ſay, take all theſe together, and it will appear the *French* ſuffered abundantly more than we. But then, thirdly, this meaſure was abſolutely neceſſary: the *French* now ſtiled themſelves *lords of both ſeas*, that is, the *Ocean* and the *Mediterranean*: their Gazettes were full of the triumphs of their maritime force, and therefore the bombarding their ports was an excellent method to convince all *Europe* of the emptineſs of their bravadoes. It ſatisfied the *Engliſh* nation, raiſed the drooping ſpirits of the people, gave pleaſure to the merchants whoſe veſſels had been plundered by the *French* privateers, and was therefore a great and glorious meaſure, whatever has been ſaid againſt it by thoſe who ſhew reſpect and compaſſion for a people that never ſhewed us any marks of either, except when civility was the pure reſult of fear.

We are now to turn our eyes towards the *Mediterranean*, whither admiral *Ruſſel* ſailed with the grand fleet, as we have before remarked, on the ſixth of *June*, 1694. He arrived on the twenty-fifth off the rock of *Lisbon*, and thence ſent orders to rear-admiral *Neville*, who, as we before obſerved, commanded the ſquadron which protected the *Engliſh* merchant-ſhips at *Cadiz*, to join him, which he did with the *Dutch* vice-admirals, *Callemberg* and *Evertzen*, with ſixteen ſhips of the line, which increaſed the number of thoſe in the fleet to ſixty-three. The admiral then reſolved to ſteer immediately for *Barcelona*, in order to ſave that city, and the province of *Catalonia*, from falling

[o] I take the whole of this affair from the French hiſtorians.

falling into the hands of the *French*, who at that time had a numerous army, and a great naval force under the command of M. *Tourville*, before, or at leaſt very near the place p. This ſhews the wiſdom of the adminiſtration in ſending ſo great a fleet into thoſe ſeas; for, without ſuch aſſiſtance, the *Spaniards* muſt have been undone, or forced to make a ſeparate peace, and the *French* would have continued boaſting and vapouring, as they had lately done, of their mighty maritime power, perſuading *Algiers*, and the reſt of the ſtates of *Barbary*, that the *Engliſh* were not able to look them in the face: but an end was now put to theſe bravadoes, by the admiral's procuring leave from the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, who were at war with thoſe ſtates, that ſome *Algerine* men of war might have permiſſion to come and take a view of the fleet; which they did accordingly, and went home again very well ſatisfied q. On the other hand, the *French* admiral had no ſooner intelligence of the approach of our fleet, than he retired precipitately from before *Barcelona*, and ſoon after ſhut himſelf up in the port of *Toulon*, which put it out of diſpute, that the maritime powers were now able to give law to *France* in all parts of the world r. The ſiege of *Barcelona* too was

p The marquis de Quincy tells us, that admiral Ruſſel came into the Mediterranean very luckily for the preſervation of Barcelona, before which port he appeared on the laſt of July, with a fleet of 136 ſail, of which 88 were of the line of battle; and M. Tourville not being in a condition to look ſuch a fleet in the face, retired, purſuant to his orders, into the harbour of Toulon. Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iii. p. 86. q Burchet's memoirs, p. 239. where we are told, that, notwithſtanding the precautions taken by admiral Ruſſel, one of the Algerine frigates was ſoon after ſeized in his ſight, by a Dutch man of war, though ſhe was preſently releaſed upon his application. r Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iii. p. 86. P. Daniel, Kennet, Burnet, &c.

was raiſed to the infinite joy of the king of *Spain*, who teſtified his gratitude for this ſignal aſſiſtance, in the warmeſt and moſt public manner poſſible.

OUR admiral, indeed, found the *Spaniſh* affairs in the moſt diſtreſſed condition imaginable. Their *Armada* conſiſted but of ten ſhips, and of theſe four only were of the line of battle; the reſt of ſmall force, and ſo rotten, that they could ſcarce endure the firing of their own guns. The army in *Catalonia* was in a ſtill worſe condition; it conſiſted but of 9000 men, without cloaths, without pay, without proviſions, without artillery, and without tents. The towns on the ſea-coaſt were ſo meanly fortified, that on the approach of a *French* ſquadron, the people had no other way to ſecure themſelves but by flight. Admiral *Ruſſel* ſtated all this in a letter to the king, and at the ſame time offered the viceroy of *Catalonia* to do all that was in his power for his aſſiſtance; which, however, was not much, for, on the other hand, the demands made by the viceroy was exceſſively unreaſonable, and what the admiral was able to do, could not much benefit him; which was the reaſon that, together with an apprehenſion of proviſions growing ſhort, induced the admiral to deſire the fleet might return home; for which, when he had made all the neceſſary preparations, and was on the very point of quitting the *Spaniſh* coaſt, he received an order under his majeſty's ſignet and ſign manual, directing him to winter at *Cadiz*. This embaraſſed him extremely, and the rather, becauſe no care was taken to ſend commiſſioners for victualling, ſo that this fell entirely upon the admiral, and was no ſmall addition to the load of cares with which he was already oppreſſed[a]. Yet conſidering the importance

[a] Burchet's memoirs, p. 241. Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William, &c.

tance of the ſervice, the dangers to which the men would be expoſed, by any miſmanagement in this affair, and how far the honour of the *Engliſh* nation was at ſtake, he applied himſelf to this new employment with ſuch diligence, that never men were better furniſhed with proviſions and wine; and this too was managed with ſo great oeconomy, that notwithſtanding the apparent difference between obtaining proviſions for a great fleet, and ſingle ſhips, yet the former was victualled at as ſmall an expence to the public, as the latter, and in many circumſtances at a much cheaper rate; nor did the admiral, when he found it neceſſary, make any ſcruple of engaging his perſonal credit and private eſtate, for the ſervice of his country[t].

WHILE the fleet continued before *Alicant*, the admiral diſpatched a ſquadron of ten ſail, under the command of rear-admiral *Neville*, with orders to cruize between the iſlands and the *Barbary* coaſt, as well to intercept any *French* veſſels that might paſs that way, as to procure wood and other neceſſaries for the fleet. Soon after this, the admiral falling ill of a fever and bloody flux, he devolved the care of the fleet on vice-admiral *Aylmer*, with orders to join rear-admiral *Neville*, and in caſe he had any news of the *French* fleet's being come out of *Toulon*, to ſail in queſt of them without delay; but if not, to return to *Alicant*, which he did on the tenth of *September*. The admiral,

[t] See the ſubſequent memoirs of the earl of Orford, whose it will appear, that notwithſtanding all his pains and application, he was moſt cruelly and ſcandalouſly traduced on this account, as if he had procured the wintering of the fleet in the Mediterranean, purely to enrich himſelf by the management of their victualling; whereas, that meaſure was not only concerted without, but againſt his advice, and the government ſaved a great ſum of money by his frugal conduct in the other particular.

admiral, though in a very weak ſtate of health, went very ſoon on board, and reſumed the command of the fleet, with which he proceeded to *Cadiz*, where he arrived on the eighth of *November*, 1694, and took all the neceſſary precautions to prevent the *French* from paſſing the *Streights*, without receiving proper notice of their motions. While he continued there, the *Spaniards* ſent him frequent advices of the *French* fleet's being ready to quit *Toulon*; which, however, he did not much regard, as having ſurer intelligence of his own [u]. It is true, the *French* fleet was kept clean and well rigged during the winter, with deſign to have brought it round to *Breſt*; but the advices they had of admiral *Ruſſel*'s force and diligence, had ſuch an effect on the mind of M. *Tourville*, that he could not be prevailed on to riſk the ſhips under his command, in ſo dangerous a paſſage. His catholic majeſty was all this time ſoliciting our admiral to undertake impoſſibilities, ſuch as tranſporting five, then ſeven thouſand men, from *Genoa*, on board his men of war, though he knew them to be foul by their being ſo long at ſea, and but indifferently provided with victuals; which, though the admiral refuſed, yet he did it with great decency, and at the ſame time offered unanſwerable reaſons in ſupport of his own conduct; adding, that he would write home to demand amongſt other ſupplies, a reaſonable number of land forces: and in this manner, the remainder of the year was ſpun out [w].

IT is now requiſite to take notice of what was done at home, in relation to naval affairs, and in the firſt place I muſt obſerve, that the king, on his return from *Flanders*, under the eſcort of a ſmall ſquadron, commanded by the

[u] Burchet, Kennet, Oldmixon, life of king William, &c.
[w] Burchet's memoirs, p. 265.

marquis of *Carmarthen*, called the parliament together on the twelfth of *November*, and opened the ſeſſions with a ſpeech which began thus. "I am glad to meet you here, "when I can ſay our affairs are in a better poſture, both "by ſea and land, than when we parted laſt. The ene- "my has not been in a condition to oppoſe our fleet in "theſe ſeas; and our ſending ſo great a force into the "*Mediterranean*, has diſappointed their deſigns, and leaves "us a proſpect of further ſucceſs." He recommended to them at the ſame time, early and effectual ſupplies, and the paſſing ſome good law for the encouragement of ſeamen. The commons received theſe propoſitions very chearfully, and having examined the eſtimates that were laid before them for the next year, voted a ſupply of 2,382,712*l.* for the navy, which ſufficiently ſhewed how eaſy it was to engage the nation to give money, when they had any tolerable proſpect of ſeeing it well laid out[x].

THE death of queen *Mary*, which happened towards the latter end of the year, ſerved not only to damp the ſpirits of the people, who had a wonderful affection for the perſon of that princeſs, but to give the enemies of the government an opportunity to attempt diſtreſſing the nation, by pretending that the parliament was legally diſſolved by her majeſty's demiſe[y]. This, however ſtrange and ſingular,

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[x] Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Preſent State of Europe, Chandler's debates, &c. [y] This excellent princeſs was taken ill at Kenſington, on the twenty-firſt of December, 1694. Her diſtemper proved to be the ſmall-pox; a malady extremely fatal to her family, and which might therefore be ſuppoſed to make the greater impreſſion upon her ſpirits; this joined to a bad conſtitution, and, as ſome ſay, the ill management of her principal phyſician, brought her to her end in the ſpace of a week.

gular, was the ſentiment of her majeſty's uncle, the earl of *Rochester*, and of ſome others; but certainly it was very ill founded. The executive part of the government, was, by law, in king *William* only, though the title, as well as the right, was declared to be in their majeſties jointly. The calling of a parliament, was certainly an act of the executive power, and conſequently it ought to have been underſtood in law, as the ſpecial and immediate act of the king, though the writs ran in the joint names of both their majeſties, as all other acts of ſtate did, yet without impeachment or diminution of the king's authority. Upon this principle, and no body's ſeconding the earl of *Rochester* in his motion in the houſe of lords, the parliament was held to be no way affected by her death, but proceeded in its deliberation, as if no ſuch accident had happened [a]. It was then ſuggeſted, by ſuch as diſliked the adminiſtration, that the ſending admiral *Ruſſel* with ſo great a fleet into the *Mediterranean*, keeping him there for ſo long a time, and directing him at laſt to winter in thoſe parts, was contrary to the intereſt of the nation, the occaſion of vaſt ſums being remitted into foreign parts, and an act of too great complaiſance towards our allies. But upon a long and ſharp debate, the houſe of lords ſaw reaſon to juſtify this meaſure by a

week. She was, at the time of her deceaſe, in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the ſixth of her reign. She was exceedingly lamented at home and abroad; and her death, at this juncture, was a great diſadvantage to her ſubjects.

[a] See Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 140. It is evident, if this could have been carried, and the parliament diſſolved, things muſt have run into the utmoſt confuſion; and therefore it is amazing, that any man, who pretended the leaſt regard for his country, ſhould eſpouſe ſo deſtructive a ſcheme, even though his ſentiments had been oppoſite to thoſe of the perſons entruſted with the adminiſtration.

very warm addreſs to the throne, in which they ſay, "That the ſending ſo great a fleet into the *Mediterranean*, "and continuing it in thoſe parts, has been to the honour "and advantage of your majeſty and your kingdoms: and "having ſpent ſome time upon conſideration of the con- "dition of the fleet both at home and abroad, and of the "great encreaſe of the naval force and ſtrength of our "neighbours, conceive it to be our duty to your majeſty "and the kingdom, humbly to repreſent, that the honour "and ſafety of this nation, under the providence of God, "chiefly depends upon your ſtrength at ſea. And whereas "by the long continuance of this war, the number of "your ſhips muſt have been diminiſhed, and thoſe re- "maining greatly impaired, we think it of the higheſt "importance to your majeſty's ſervice, and the ſecurity "and intereſt of your people, that you would be pleaſed "to give ſuch ſpeedy and effectual directions for the repair "and encreaſe of your royal navy, as may enable your "majeſty not only to continue a ſtrength in the *Mediter-* "*ranean*, during this war, which may be ſuperior to that "of our enemies, but likewiſe to maintain ſuch a force "here at home, and in the *Weſt Indies*, as ſhall be a ſe- "curity for our coaſts and plantations, and a protection "of our trade, and ſufficient both for the annoying of "our enemies, and for the protecting and convoying all "ſuch ſtores and proviſions as muſt be ſent to the fleet in "thoſe parts, upon the effectual and timely providing "whereof, the ſafety of that part of your majeſty's navy "does ſo much depend." This addreſs, which was pre- ſented in the beginning of the month of *March*, and to which the king returned a favourable anſwer, ſatisfied the minds of all the ſenſible part of the nation on this head,

and

and reconciled them to the abſence of admiral *Ruſſel*, which otherwiſe they would not have borne but with great impatience[a].

A conſiderable ſupply being ſent to the fleet in the beginning of the year, admiral *Ruſſel* reſolved to ſend a ſmall ſquadron up the *Streights*; it was compoſed of ſix ſtout frigates, and the command given to captain *James Killegrew*, who had inſtructions to protect our own trade, and to annoy that of the enemy. In their cruize, on the eighteenth of *January*, 1695, they diſcovered two *French* ſhips, *viz.* the *Content*, commanded by the marquis *du Chalard*, of ſeventy guns, and the *Trident*, under count *d'Aulnoy*, of ſixty guns, between cape *Bona* and the iſland of *Pantalarea*, on the *Barbary* coaſt. The *French* men of war miſtook the *Engliſh* for merchant-men, and bore down upon them; but quickly perceiving their miſtake, endeavoured to get away. It was four in the afternoon before captain *Killegrew*, in the *Plymouth*, could come up with them, and the wind being then calm, ſhe alone engaged both the *French* ſhips for the ſpace of more than an hour, in which time captain *Killegrew* was killed with a cannon-ſhot. Then came up the *Falmouth*, captain *Grantham*, who engaged them for near another hour, till the other four *Engliſh* frigates came in: whereupon the *French* ſeparated, the *Carliſle*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Southampton* purſued

[a] The French took a great deal of pains to publiſh whatever was ſaid in England againſt this meaſure; and indeed they had good reaſon ſo to do, ſince all thoſe arguments were in their favour. The Engliſh fleet giving law to them in the Mediterranean, while our ſquadrons bombarded their ports on the ocean, ſunk their pretenſions to becoming a maritime power ſo low, that it is no wonder they were deſirous of promoting the views of that party in England, which oppoſed meaſures ſo fatal to their glory.

ſued the biggeſt of them, and the *Falmouth* and *Adventure* the leſſer, the *Plymouth* being forced to bear away for *Meſſina*, having loſt her fore-top-maſt, and her other maſts and rigging being very much ſhattered. The *French* made a running fight the night following and part of the next day; when, their ſhips being diſabled, and the count *d'Aulnoy*, one of their commanders, with many of their men killed, they both yielded. One of them, called the *Trident*, being leaky, and it blowing very freſh, the *Engliſh* ſent her to *Gorgonti*, and carried the *Content* to *Meſſina*, where they arrived the ſecond of *March*. The *Plymouth* had fourteen men killed and thirty wounded, and there might be about twice that number killed and wounded on board the reſt of the ſhips [b]. The brave captain *Killegrew* was interred at *Meſſina*, with all the honours due to his rank and merit [c]. The news of this action reached home much about the time that the lords preſented their addreſs; which was a very fortunate circumſtance for the friends of the court, who mentioned it on all occaſions as a fact which fully ſupported their arguments. On the other ſide, a large account of this affair was printed at *Paris*, in which the marquis *du Chalard* ſaid a great many fine things of himſelf and his nation, but after all admits they were beat [d].

On

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[b] Burchet's memoirs, p. 266, 267. Pointer's chronological hiſtory, Kennet, Burnet, &c. [c] I think myſelf obliged to report from the mouth of an eye-witneſs, a very extraordinary circumſtance in relation to this engagement. When captain Killegrew came up with the Content, the whole French crew were at prayers, and he might have poured in his broad-ſide with great advantage; which, however, he refuſed to do, adding this remarkable expreſſion, *It is beneath the courage of the* Engliſh *nation, to ſuprize their enemies in ſuch a poſture.* [d] I ſhall not trouble the reader with any of the flouriſhes in this or other

ON the fifth of *February*, 1694, a great ſupply of proviſions arrived from *England*, and ſoon after admiral *Ruſſel* detached rear-admiral *Neville*, with a ſtrong ſquadron, to watch the motions of the *French*. In the beginning of *April* arrived the land-forces, conſiſting of about four thouſand five hundred men, under the command of brigadier *Stuart*, and other experienced officers, and with them came a large fleet of victuallers, and twelve bomb-veſſels e. The fleet then ſailed from *Cadiz*, and proceeded to *Barcelona*, before which port they arrived early in the month of *May*, and found the *Spaniſh* affairs in *Catalonia* in the ſame declining way in which they left them, notwithſtanding all the preſſing remonſtrances which had from time to time been made by our admiral to the *Spaniſh* court on that ſubject. In the mean time rear-admiral *Neville* was ſent to eſcort a body of *Spaniſh* troops, which were to be tranſported from *Final* into that province. He had alſo directions to apply himſelf to the duke of *Savoy*, in order to

other French accounts of this affair; but content myſelf with obſerving, that the marquis du Chalard ſays, the Content carried 54 guns, and 380 men; the Trident, 42 guns, and 300 men; though in ſeveral of their own lines of battle, in the years 1692 and 1693, I find the former to be a ſhip of 64, and the latter of 60 guns; which is ſufficient to ſhew the credit due to theſe authors.

e Burchet's memoirs, p. 268, 271. The Spaniards were all this while ſolliciting for a convoy, and ſometimes expreſſed a good deal of uneaſineſs on account of its not being provided. Yet this was entirely their own fault; for while the admiral thought there was no danger of the French coming out of Toulon, he had preſſed them as much, to forward their embarkation at Final; telling them plainly, that after a certain time which he fixed, he ſhould not think it ſafe to ſpare them a convoy. But, they ſuffered it to elapſe, and then grew impatient, becauſe admiral Ruſſel would not hazard part of his fleet, and all their forces, by ſending the convoy at a time when the French fleet might have been at ſea, on purpoſe to intercept them.

be informed, whether, with the assistance of the fleet, he could undertake to invade any part of the dominions of *France*, or to assist in a design that was then formed against *Toulon*. But his highness being intent upon taking *Casal*, declined entering upon any measures of this nature; and therefore rear-admiral *Neville* was forced to content himself with the execution of the other part of his instructions, and rejoin the grand fleet with the *Spanish* troops under his protection, which he very happily performed [f].

It was about the middle of the month of *July*, when the marquis de *Gastanaga*, the *Spanish* governor of *Catalonia*, formed the design of re-taking *Palamos*, in which he desired the assistance of admiral *Russel*. To this purpose he made him a visit on board the fleet, where the admiral told him the situation things were in, the necessity he was under of sending home sir *John Munden* with some of the largest ships, and the impossibility there was of suffering the troops to continue for above a week or a few days longer on shore. However, in spite of all these difficulties and disappointments, he assured the marquis, that he was ready to do the very utmost in his power, both by landing the troops, and by sending in a squadron of light vessels to bombard the place. In consequence of these resolutions,

[f] This was one great end of sending admiral Russel into the Mediterranean. For if, with the assistance of the duke of Savoy, he could have undertaken any thing against Marseilles or Toulon, it would have compleated the ruin of the French power at sea. But the duke was so bent upon the conquest of Casal, that he could not be drawn to undertake any other enterprize. Admiral Russel, as soon as he understood this, resolved to give him all the assistance possible in that design; and by hindering the French from sending any succours, enabled him to make himself master of the place, which he could not otherwise have taken.

ſolutions, the confederate forces, conſiſting of four thouſand *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, were landed; the former under the command of brigadier *Stuart*, the latter under that of count *Naſſau* g. This was on the ninth of *Auguſt*, and it was the next day before they joined the *Spaniſh* army, the very ſight of which was ſufficient to diſcourage them. To enumerate their wants, would be tedious and unneceſſary, ſince in truth they were in want of every thing; and if our people had not by accident brought with them ſome pick-axes and ſhovels on ſhore, they could not have intrenched themſelves; which, however, was very neceſſary, ſince the *French* had not only a good garriſon in *Palamos*, but an army at leaſt equal to that of the *Spaniards*, within ſight of the place. The bombardment, however, ſucceeded better; the greateſt part of the town and caſtle were deſtroyed: but the admiral, being informed, that the *French* fleet were coming out of *Toulon*, thought proper to reimbark his forces, and to ſail for the coaſt of *Provence*, in order to watch the motions of the enemy h.

AFTER

g Burchet's memoirs, p. 275. Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

h The French writers give us another account of this matter; they ſay, that the duke of Vendôme, who commanded their army in Catalonia, finding himſelf too weak to attempt the raiſing the ſiege of Palamos by force, had yet addreſs enough to effect it by a ſtratagem. He ſent a letter by the maſter of a fiſhing-bark, directed to Mr. Nanclas, governor of that place, acquainting him, that he might depend on ſpeedy relief, the fleet having ſailed from Toulon in the beginning of September. The maſter of the fiſhing-boat had orders to put himſelf in the way of the Engliſh, which he did; and the admiral being deceived by this letter, ſailed immediately for the coaſt of Provence. Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iii p. 178. yet, ſuppoſing this fact to be true, the French had no great cauſe to boaſt; for Palamos was reduced into ſo miſerable a condition, by being bombarded, that the duke de Vendôme thought fit ſoon after to

AFTER his departure from the coaſt of *Catalonia*, the admiral met with exceeding bad weather, which hindered him from accompliſhing ſome things he had in view. He found alſo that his intelligence, as to the deſigns of the *French*, had not been very exact, and therefore thought it adviſable to retire down the *Streights*; which he did, and arrived, towards the latter end of the month of *September*, in the bay of *Cadiz* [i]. There he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſecuring our trade in the *Mediterranean* from any interruption, for leaving a ſufficient force to fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemy, and even to aſſiſt the *Spaniards*, in caſe they ſhewed any greater care of their own concerns after his departure than they had hitherto done: and having made theſe proviſions, and given proper inſtructions to ſir *David Mitchel*, rear-admiral of the *Red*, who was to be left with a ſquadron of three and twenty ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and bomb-veſſels, he turned his thoughts entirely to the carrying the reſt of the fleet back to *England*, moſt of the great ſhips being very foul, and many of them but indifferently manned. This deſign he very happily accompliſhed, arriving in *November* with twelve ſail of great ſhips, excluſive of the *Dutch*, a frigate or two, and ſome fire ſhips, on our own coaſts [k].

WE are now to conſider what paſſed at home, and how thoſe meaſures were proſecuted, which had been concerted for humbling the *French* in the ocean. Our attempts the year before had not indeed anſwered the ſanguine expectations of ignorant people, who imagined that they were not to have left a houſe ſtanding on all the *French* coaſt; and on

to withdraw his garriſon, and blow up the reſt of the fortifications. [i] Kennet, Burnet, life of king William. [k] Pointer's chronological hiſtory, Burchet's memoirs, Preſent State of Europe, &c.

on the other hand, ſeemed but to juſtify too well what ſuch as were beſt skilled in maritime affairs had advanced, as to the impoſſibility of performing any great ſervices in the way of bombarding; yet it was reſolved that this ſhould be purſued [l]. The great men in the cabinet, amongſt whom at that time was the famous earl of *Sunderland*, perhaps the ableſt miniſter of his time, thought themſelves better judges of theſe matters, than either the ſeamen or the people; and while they were able to ſhew their own force for the preſent, leſſen the *French* power for the future, and give infinite uneaſineſs to the whole *French* nation, by ſuch expeditions, the expence of them, though conſiderable, was, in their judgments, very far from being thrown away. They were, beſides, very ſenſible, that nothing could enable us, and our allies, to continue the war with any proſpect of ſucceſs, but our making ſuch uſes of our fleet, as might leſſen the viſible ſuperiority of the *French* king's forces by land. This had been effectually done by admiral *Ruſſel* while he continued in the *Mediterranean*: for though he found it impoſſible to enable the *Spaniards* to do any thing, who had little or rather no force at all, yet he had viſibly prevented the loſs of *Barcelona*, and indeed of all *Catalonia*, which nothing but his preſence could have kept, either this year or the laſt, out of the hands of the *French*; and the bombardments of laſt year had fruſtrated all the *French* ſchemes, and kept their whole naval force uſeleſs in their ports, which had been otherwiſe employed to our prejudice [m].

THE

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[l] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 207, 208.

[m] This is the judgment of ſome of the beſt political writers of thoſe times; and indeed, if we conſider facts, we cannot but be

THE fleet intended for this ſervice was in ſuch forwardneſs by the middle of *June*, that the lord *Berkley*, of *Stratton*, who was to command it, had orders to repair on board. On his arrival at *Spithead*, a council of war was called, in order to conſider what ſhould be firſt undertaken; and upon mature deliberation it was reſolved, that there was the greateſt probability of ſucceeding againſt St. *Maloes*. But the *Dutch* admiral, *Allemonde*, having acquainted lord *Berkley*, that he had the king's abſolute orders to conſider the project for attacking *Dunkirk* before all others; this occaſioned a freſh delay. However, when it was propoſed that the *Dutch* ſhould act ſeparately in this laſt undertaking, it was by them declared impracticable, and a full reſolution taken to execute immediately the deſign againſt St. *Maloes*[a]. With this view the fleet ſailed on the twenty-third of *June*; and on the fourth of *July* lord *Berkley*, with all the ſhips under his command, came before the place, and began inſtantly to bombard *Quince-Fort*, to the weſtward, and the battery raiſed by the enemy to the eaſtward, on point *Danbour*, between which is the channel of the town. The firſt ſervice was performed by colonel *Richards*, who had three *Engliſh* and two *Dutch* bomb-veſſels under his command, and the latter was committed entirely to the *Dutch*, who employed therein four bomb-veſſels for many hours. On the fifth, every thing being ready to attack the town, lord *Berkley*, about four o'clock in the morning, gave the ſignal. Upon this captain *Benbow* went on board the *Charles* galley, and hoiſted a flame-coloured flag; and immediately after, the *Engliſh* and

be convinced, that it was better for us to alarm and burn the French coaſts, than to ſuffer them to alarm and burn ours, as they did ſome years before. [a] Burchet's memoirs, p. 293. Kennet, Burnet.

and *Dutch* frigates, appointed to guard the bomb-veſſels, entered the channel, and came to an anchor within a mile and an half of the town, having colonel *Richards*, with the bomb-veſſels, in a line before them. About ſix, the bombardment began. All this time the enemy fired very warmly from the ſhore, from the batteries on the great and little bay, in the iſland of *Danbar*, from *Fort-Vauban*, *Fort-Royal*, *Fort-Quince*, &c. their gallies and boats taking alſo the opportunities of the tides, and rowing ſometimes ſo near, as to gall with their ſmall ſhot the line of bomb-veſſels. Yet, in ſpite of this interruption, the bombardment was ſo vigorouſly purſued, that about eight o'clock a great fire broke out in the eaſt part of the town, and vaſt clouds of ſmoak were ſeen aſcending in ſeveral places. Lord *Berkley*, admiral *Allemonde*, and ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, came in their boats to encourage the ſeamen, and expreſſed much ſatisfaction as to the manner in which the attack was diſpoſed. An *Engliſh* and *Dutch* fire-ſhip ſet the wooden fort on the *Quince* rock on fire, which burnt for two hours; and about four in the afternoon a great fire broke out in the weſt part of the town. By ſeven in the evening, the bomb-veſſels had ſpent their whole cargo of nine thouſand bombs and carcaſſes, and therefore the ſignal was made to put to ſea. This enterprize was executed by ſix *Engliſh* and four *Dutch* men of war, nine galliots, fourteen flat-bottom boats, and two brigantines. The loſs ſuſtained by the enemy's fire was ſixty men killed and wounded; a bomb-veſſel, called the *Terrible*, ſo ſhattered, that they were forced to ſet her on fire; two boats, and three or four barks ſunk. The bombardment laſted ſomewhat more than eleven hours, with all the ſucceſs that could poſſibly be expected, a great

part

part of the place being burnt, and the enemy reduced to the neceſſity of blowing up ſeveral houſes, to prevent the whole from being deſtroyed *.

THE *French* accounts do indeed contradict theſe; but at the ſame time they neither raiſe the reputation of *France*, nor, with impartial judges, can diſcredit what has been advanced on this ſubject by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*. M. *Quincy* tells us, that the court appointed marſhal *Choiſeuil* to command on the the coaſt of *Britany*. At *La Hogue* he had two battallons of marines, three of militia, a regiment of horſe, and a regiment of dragoons; and beſides theſe, he had a numerous *Corps de Reſerve*. M. *d'Eſtrees* commanded in the neighbourhood of *Rochelle* another body of forces. The care of *Breſt*, and the adjacent country, was committed to M. *Vauban*, who had a ſpecial commiſſion to enable him to command the marines, of which there were twenty-two battalions on the coaſt. All this ſhews, how apprehenſive the *French* were of theſe viſits, into what confuſion they put them, and what mighty expences they were obliged to be at, in order to provide againſt their effects. As to this particular affair of St. *Maloes*, the author before-mentioned is pleaſed to ſay, our fleet conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, of which twenty-five or thirty were line of battle ſhips. He owns, that the bombardment continued eleven hours; that nine hundred bombs were

* See the London Gazette, No. 3090; where, however, it is ſaid, that the fleet ſailed on the twenty-firſt; but in all probability it put back again, and did not ſail till the twenty-ninth, as appears from the London Gazette, No. 3092. The account of the engagement I have taken from my lord Berkley's narrative, publiſhed in the Gazette, No. 3096, after comparing it with what is ſaid in Burchet's naval hiſtory, and the Dutch accounts; all which agree perfectly together, and therefore I can ſee no reaſon to doubt any of the facts they contain.

were thrown, of which five hundred fell in the town, whereby ten or twelve houſes were burnt, thirty-five or forty damaged, and eighteen or twenty people killed or wounded p. Father *Daniel* gives us pretty near the ſame account; and both agree, that two infernal machines were ſpent on *Fort-Quince*, one to very little, and the other to no purpoſe at all q. Yet, when it is remembered that St. *Malos* was an old town, its buildings moſtly of wood, the ſtreets very narrow, and the place crowded with ſoldiers, it is not eaſy to gueſs, how ſo many bombs could fall, and yet do ſo little hurt; and this induced a *Dutch* journaliſt to ſay merrily enough, that the *Malois* had taught their dogs (which every body knows they make uſe of to guard their city) to take up the bombs in their mouths, and run away with them out of town r.

AFTER this affair was over, it was reſolved, that a ſmall ſquadron ſhould proceed to *Granville*, a place of great trade. This ſquadron conſiſted of eight frigates, and as many bomb-veſſels, *viz.* five *Engliſh* and three *Dutch*. On the eighth of *July* about nine in the morning, captain *Benbow* anchored before the place, and colonel *Richards*, about an hour afterwards, began the bombardment, which laſted till ſix in the evening, and then the ſquadron bore away, leaving

p Hiſtoire militaire, tom iii. p. 323. But all that is ſaid there, may be thus accounted for. The French court always kept in pay a ſettled journaliſt, who was inſtructed to heighten all their ſucceſſes, and to extenuate all their loſſes, by feigned relations; which relations are ſince reckoned proper documents for hiſtory; though at the time they were publiſhed, their true value was very well known, and they very juſtly deſpiſed, not abroad only, but even by ſenſible people in France. q Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 182. Both his and the marquis de Quincy's account, are copied from their Gazettes. r Preſent State of Europe, hiſtory of the laſt war, life of king William, &c.

leaving this town all in flames; which is a fact the *French* have never offered to diſpute, though moſt of their writers ſlip it over without ſaying a word. On the ninth, the fleet appeared before *Havre de Grace*; not with any deſign to attack it, but merely to alarm and harraſs the enemy: which having performed, they ſailed for *Portſmouth*, in order to make the neceſſary preparations there for an attempt upon *Dunkirk*, the deſtruction of which port would have given equal ſatisfaction to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, both nations ſuffering very much, though not equally, by her privateers, which were the very bane of all our northern and coaſt trade[a].

On the return of the fleet, four hundred ſoldiers were immediately embarked, and Mr. *Meeſters* received orders to prepare his machines, on the ſucceſs of which the whole affair depended. After this all the proper meaſures were concerted with that engineer. But, whether through ſome backwardneſs in him, or from what other accident, is not very clear; ſo it was, that the month of *July* expired before the attempt upon *Dunkirk* was made. On the firſt of *Auguſt* lord *Berkley* ſent in the bomb-ketches, fire-ſhips, and machine-veſſels, with ſeveral light frigates and brigantines, to protect them againſt the enemy's half-gallies, and other armed boats, of which they had a great many. About nine in the morning, the bombardment began; about two in the afternoon four ſmoke-ſhips were ſent in, which were burnt to little or no purpoſe. The bomb-veſſels, however, continued firing till about five, and then with the frigates, *&c.* were ordered off. Several of the ſhells fell into the riſe-bank and upon the pier-heads,

[a] Burchet, Kennet, Oldmixon, and the London Gazette, No. 3096.

heads, and three of the enemy's half-gallies were ſunk. But they had in all places made ſuch great preparations for their defence with boats, bombs, chains, piles, and pontons, with guns upon them, as rendered this attempt altogether impracticable. The *French* give a long and pompous account of this affair, and I think do the *Engliſh* more honour than any of their own relations; for they make the miſcarriage of this attempt, the effect of the courage and conduct of ſeveral of their moſt experienced ſea-officers; whereas our authors univerſally aſcribe it either to the want of skill in Mr. *Meeſters*, or to the miſunderſtanding between him and ſome of the ſea-officers; which is the more probable, ſince he deſerted the ſervice in the night, and could not be prevailed on to take any ſhare in the ſubſequent attempt upon *Calais* [t].

Lord *Berkley*, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, reſolved to proſecute his orders, and coming before *Calais*, called a council of war, in which it was determined to endeavour firſt of all to burn a wooden fort erected at the entrance of the pier-heads, which was furniſhed with fourteen heavy cannon; and with ſeveral other batteries defended the entrance of the place in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible any thing could be undertaken till theſe obſtacles were removed. To this end, colonel *Richards* was ordered to fill two well-boats with the materials of a fire ſhip, and to diſpoſe the boats for making a formal at-

[t] I have taken this account, as thoſe before inſerted, from all the relations I could meet with, either of our own, or foreign writers, particularly that publiſhed in the Gazette, No. 3102. Burchet's Memoirs, p. 297. Hiſtoire Militaire, Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. &c. But all they advance, is taken from the relations printed by authority to amuſe the people.

tack. Several accidents prevented the execution of this deſign till the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt* in the morning, when anchoring eaſtward of the town, the bombardment began with ſuch ſucceſs, that by noon the place was on fire in ſeveral parts. About this time the enemy's half-gallies came out, and ſtood along under the ſhore, in order to break the line of bomb-veſſels; but the frigates and brigantines ſtanding in, put them into ſuch confuſion, that they retired with great precipitation, and with much difficulty recovered the pier-heads. The bombardment was then continued, without any further interruption, till about five in the afternoon, by which time ſix hundred ſhells were thrown into the place. The magazine and the riſe-bank was entirely burnt, ſeveral houſes deſtroyed, and many more very much damaged; with this particular circumſtance in our favour, that, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the enemy, and a prodigious fire from their batteries, we ſuffered very little loſs; only Captain *Osborne*, who commanded the *Aldborough*-Ketch, was killed by a cannon-ball [u]. M. *Quincy* affects to treat this attack as a very ſlight thing, aſſerting that not above three or four houſes were conſumed, and about as many people killed; and yet he acknowledges that abundance of men had been ordered thither, and a great deal of pains taken to prevent their ſuffering at all by this attempt; which ſhews how great their apprehenſions were, and how neceſſary it was to calm the minds of the people by publiſhing ſuch accounts, but depreciates their judgments very much who took all theſe

[u] London Gazette, No. 3107, Burchet's Memoirs, p. 303. Pointer's chronological hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 413. Kennet, Burnet.

theſe precautions where, (if they are believed) no miſchief could be done [w].

THIS was the laſt attack of the kind that was made this year; and though, upon the whole, both the *Engliſh* and the confederates reaped very conſiderable advantages, from their ruining in this manner all the enemy's coaſts, while their ſquadrons were ſhut up in their ports, and in no capacity to undertake any thing, yet, on the return of the fleet, the council thought fit to examine into the conduct both of the officers and engineers, who charged each other reciprocally with want of skill, or want of zeal; but upon a thorough examination into the matter, it was found, that their want of unanimity was the greateſt misfortune; and it appeared ſo plainly, that by proper management the *French* ports might be ruined, notwithſtanding the mighty pains and immenſe expence employed in fortifying them, that it was reſolved to proſecute the ſame method; and it was particularly recommended to Mr. *Meeſters*, not only to be more careful in providing for the ſupply of his machines with whatever was neceſſary for their acting effectually, but alſo to ſecure a ſufficient number of experienced pilots, for want of which both the attempts on *Dunkirk* had miſcarried [x]; that might otherwiſe have ruined this *Algier* in the narrow ſeas.

THAT reſpect which is due to truth, and the thorough information of our readers, will not permit the paſſing over in ſilence, ſome misfortunes that fell out this year at ſea. When the *French* court found that, notwithſtanding the

w Hiſtoire militaire, Journal hiſtorique, as above.

x See a more ſatisfactory account of this matter in our memoirs of the lord Berkley of Stratton.

vaſt expence they had been at, in order to raiſe a maritime power, they were yet unable to look the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* in the face, they gave leave to many of their ſailors to enter on board privateers, which enabled them to diſturb our trade, and to enrich themſelves. The Marquis of *Carmarthen*, who had the command of a Squadron ſtationed off the *Scilly*-iſlands, was ſo unlucky as to miſtake a fleet of merchant-men for the *Breſt* ſquadron; whereupon, without taking any pains to be ſatisfied whether he was or was not in the right, he retired immediately into *Milford*-Haven, which expoſed the *Barbadoes* fleet in ſuch a manner; that many of them were loſt, two *Eaſt-India* ſhips were taken at ſea, and three more were either burnt or taken near *Galway* in *Ireland*, by ſome privateers acting under king *James*'s commiſſion. Theſe five ſhips, biſhop *Burnet* tells us, were worth a million, and therefore we need not be ſurprized, that by the loſs of them which affected ſo many people, a great clamour was raiſed among the merchants. The *Admiralty* excuſed themſelves by producing the inſtructions given to the marquiſs of *Carmarthen*, and other officers; but, notwithſtanding all that could be ſaid, it appeared inconteſtably, that the true ſource of our loſſes in this reſpect, and of the *French* ſucceſs, was their having ſo good intelligence of all our motions; whereas it never appeared that with all the money ſpent for this purpoſe, we had any tolerable accounts of theirs. How far this was owing to their diligence and dexterity, and how far to our indolence and treachery, is what I ſhall not pretend to determine, but content myſelf with obſerving, that in a time of war no money is ſo ill ſpared, as that which might be employed in gaining early notice

notice of an enemy's preparations; for though their deſigns may, yet thoſe can never be hid y.

BUT, in ſome meaſure to ballance theſe, we may have leave to mention a few acts of extraordinary courage and conduct, which our own countrymen performed; and which, if it were for their ſingularity only, deſerve to be remembered. On the thirtieth of *May* 1695, as one *William Thompſon*, maſter of a fiſhing-boat belonging to the port of *Pool* in *Dorſetſhire*, was fiſhing near the iſland of *Purbeck*, with only one man and a boy, and perceiving a privateer of *Cherbourg* to bear down upon him, he was ſo far from avoiding the enemy, that he made ready to defend himſelf the beſt he could with two little guns, which he had mounted, and ſome ſmall fire-arms, and with ſo inconſiderable defence behaved himſelf with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a little time he wounded the captain, the lieutenant, and ſix more of the *French*; which ſo diſcouraged the reſt, that they bore away. But then, in his turn, *Thompſon* gave chace to the privateer, fired upon her for two hours together, and at length made the enemy ſtrike, beg for quarter, and ſurrender. So that *Thompſon*, thus victorious, brought away the ſloop with fourteen priſoners (of which the captain was one) having left two more at *Corfe-Caſtle*, and carried her into *Pool* harbour. This privateer had two pattarero's, ſeveral ſmall arms and granado's, and ſixteen men. For this gallant exploit, the lords of the *Admiralty* gave captain *Thompſon* a gold chain and medal, of the value of fifty pounds, and made him a preſent alſo

y Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. 155. Kennet, Oldmixon, Preſent ſtate of Europe, life of king William.

of the veſſel he had taken [a]. Their lordſhips, not long after, gave a like chain and medal to Mr. *Williams*, who was likewiſe maſter of a fiſhing-ſmack belonging to *Whitſand-Bay*, for retaking ſeveral veſſels after they had fallen into the hands of *French* privateers [a]. Theſe rewards had ſuch an effect, that Captain *Peter Jolliffe*, in a ſmall boy, called the *Sea Adventure*, perceiving a *French* privateer in the iſland of *Purbeck* make prize of a fiſhing-boat belonging to *Weymouth*, he boldly attacked him, though of three times his ſtrength, and having firſt obliged him to quit his prize, afterwards forced him on ſhore near the town of *Lulworth*, the people of which made themſelves maſters of the veſſel, and took the crew priſoners; for which brave exploit, Captain *Jolliffe* was honoured alſo with a gold chain and medal [b]. Several other actions of this ſort gave reputation to the *Engliſh* ſeamen, and plainly ſhewed, that nothing but diviſions in our councils, and factions in our fleets, hindered us from ſucceeding in our deſigns of making a deſcent on the coaſt of *France*, and revenging the injuries done our commerce by the privateers of that nation: a deſign every way juſt and reaſonable, ſince the *French* king not only furniſhed thoſe privateers with ſeamen, but alſo employed his own ſhips in this kind of piratical war, and cauſed ſeveral medals to be ſtruck on the ſucceſs of it: but whether theſe will tranſmit his glory or ſhame to poſterity, I leave every impartial reader to determine [c].

THE

[a] London Gazette, No. 3085. Pointer's chronological hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 411, 412. Preſent ſtate of Europe. [a] London Gazette, No. 3085. [b] London Gazette, No. 3089.

[c] I have always looked upon this, as the ſtrongeſt proof of the rectitude of thoſe councils, to which were owing the bombardment

THE campaign in *Flanders* being over, king *William* returned to *England*, and on the eleventh of *October* arrived at *Kenſington*, and immediately after publiſhed a proclamation, by which he diſſolved the parliament, and called a new one, which was to meet on the twenty ſecond of *November* following. About the ſame time Sir *George Rooke* received orders to proceed with all expedition to the fleet, with the ſquadron under his command. He was on this occaſion declared admiral of the *White*, and admiral and commander in chief of his majeſty's ſhips in the *Mediterranean*, with inſtructions to protect the *Engliſh* commerce, to annoy the enemy, and, in caſe they paſſed the *Streights*, to follow them with the whole fleet, or a ſtrength proportionable to theirs. Sir *George* parted from the *Engliſh* coaſt on the ſixteenth of *October*. 1695, with ſeventy ſail of men of war and mer-

bardment of the French coaſts; and therefore I think it may not be amiſs to give the reader ſome inſtances in ſupport of what is delivered in the text. Every body knows how fond the French king was of cauſing the remarkable actions of his reign to be recorded by medals; and therefore their teſtimony is unexceptionable. On the taking the India-ſhips, formerly mentioned, there was a medal ſtruck, repreſenting theſe veſſels unlading, and their cargoes taken from the ſlaves who brought them on ſhore, by a man compleatly armed, with this Inſcription, *Indicæ hoſtium opes interceptæ. i. e.* The treaſures of the Indies taken from the enemies. In the exergue, 1695. Upon John Du Bart's deſtroying a ſquadron of Dutch ſhips, another medal appeared, on which was repreſented, the Batavian lion, proſtrate on the ground, the genius of Holland ſitting on his back, and looking with an air of diſtraction towards a ſhip at ſea, with this legend, *Incenſis aut captis hoſtium navibus oneratis triginta, bellicis tribus*, that is, thirty merchant-ſhips, and three men of war, belonging to the enemy, either burnt or taken. In the exergue, *ad Texellam*, 1695. A medal was alſo ſtruck on the fruitleſs bombarding of Dunkirk, which ſhewed of how great importance the French king thought that neſt of pirates. Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. Tom. V. p. 99.

chant-men under his command, and in thirty eight days arrived ſafely in the bay of *Cadiz*. There he applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to the ſecuring the ſafe return of the *Turkey* fleet, and protecting every where the *Engliſh* trade from the danger to which it ſtood expoſed from the *French* privateers; but, as to the latter part of his inſtructions, he found himſelf ſcarce in a capacity to carry them into execution, the force he had in the port of *Cadiz*, being much inferior to the ſtrength he knew the *French* had at *Toulon*, and therefore he was obliged to provide the beſt he could for his ſecurity there; many of the great *Engliſh* ſhips, and moſt of the *Dutch* under his command, being ſo foul, that it would have been unſafe to have hazarded them in an Engagement. In this ſituation Sir *George Rooke* remained for ſome time, and then received his majeſty's commands to return for *England* [d].

We are now to enter on the tranſactions of 1696, a year in which both the *French* and the allies were reſolved to exert their greateſt ſkill and utmoſt force for continuing the war, though they were both heartily weary of it, and had ſufficient reaſons to wiſh for peace. At home our party-debates ran much higher than ever. The tories were formed into a fixed and conſtant oppoſition to the government, making it a capital point of patriotiſm to perplex public affairs; the *Engliſh* merchants were exceedingly uneaſy at the loſſes they had ſuſtained in trade, and all *Scotland* was in confuſion on account of the oppoſition given to the project they had formed for eſtabliſhing an *Eaſt-India* company, and making alſo a ſettlement in the *Weſt-Indies* at *Darien*. To theſe ſources of uneaſineſs there were

[d] Burchet's memoirs, p. 289, 290, Kennet, Burnet, Preſent ſtate of Europe, &c.

were added many others, ſome of greater, and ſome of leſs importance: among the former may be reckoned the buſineſs of a general recoinage, and among the latter an epidemic corruption, which had ſpread itſelf through almoſt every office in the kingdom, equally to the diſcredit of the government, and oppreſſion of the people. While, therefore, the parliament directed its councils to the finding out remedies proper for ſo many and ſo great evils, the *French* were contriving (as indeed it was but natural they ſhould) how they might turn our domeſtic diſputes moſt to their own advantage; and at laſt projected the means to ſet on foot a conſpiracy here, while they were preparing there, all things neceſſary for the making a formidable invaſion. Thus at the cloſe of the war they made a vaſt effort, as well in hopes of carrying their point, as to juſtify their departure from it, in caſe, after ſo bold an attempt, they ſhould meet with freſh diſappointments [e].

It was pretty early in the winter that the *French* king formed the project of invading *England*, and by this means reſtoring king *James*. But the firſt ſuſpicion that was had here of his deſign, aroſe from his making a grand promotion of ſea-officers, and amongſt them no fewer than twenty captains of men of war; which looked as if they did not intend to let their fleets be idle, as they had done for two years paſt: and what greatly alarmed the nation, was, that we had no conſiderable naval force at home to oppoſe them [f]. Their greateſt preparations being at *Toulon*, confounded our politicians not a little; but in the beginning of

[e] Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Quincy, P. Daniel, &c.
[f] Hiſtoire militaire de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 201. Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William, ſupplement to Rapin, &c.

of *January*, 1696, the *French* ſcheme began to unfold itſelf, by the early ſailing of a fleet to *Dunkirk*. It was uſual for them to ſend a large number of victuallers thither in the winter, eſcorted by a ſmall ſquadron of men of war. But the fleet now ſent was much greater than formerly, and the ſquadron that ſailed with it as an eſcort, conſiſted of ſeventeen men of war. Soon after this, an army of twenty thouſand men, drawn with all poſſible ſilence from the adjacent garriſons, was brought down to the ſea-coaſts, and five hundred tranſports provided with extraordinary diligence and ſecrecy, in order to carry over the greater part of them to *England*, while moſt of our large ſhips were laid up, and the reſt either in the *Mediterranean*, or refitting here, in order to be ſent thither [g]. So that hitherto all things ſeemed to favour the views of the enemy, who were not a little rejoyced at an accident that happened at *Gillingham*, in the river *Medway*, where the *Royal Sovereign* took fire, and was totally conſumed, though without prejudice to any of the ſhips which lay near her [h].

It

[g] Burchet's memoirs, hiſtory of the war, conſpiracy againſt king William, life of king James II. Preſent State of Europe.

[h] I have met with the following account of this accident, which is very curious, in a pocket-book of an old ſeaman, who ſometime belonged to her.

"January 29, 1696. The Royal Sovereign was the firſt "great ſhip that was ever built in England; ſhe was then de-"ſigned only for ſplendor and magnificence, and was in ſome "meaſure the occaſion of thoſe loud complaints againſt ſhip-"money, in the reign of king Charles I. but being taken down "a deck lower, became one of the beſt men of war in the "world, and ſo formidable to her enemies, that none of the "moſt daring among them would willingly lie by her ſide. "She had been in almoſt all the great engagements that had "been fought between England and Holland, and in the laſt "fight between the Engliſh and French, encountring the won-

"der

It was the intention of *Lewis* XIV. to have embarked at *Dunkirk* 16,000 men, who were to be commanded by king *James* in perſon, and under him by the marquis of *Harcourt*, then lieutenant-general, and afterwards marſhal of *France*. This embarkation was to have been eſcorted by two ſtrong ſquadrons, under the marquis of *Neſmond* and *John du Bart*, all which might have been executed, if bad weather and contrary winds had not prevented it. In the mean time the duke of *Berwick*, ſir *George Berkley*, and ſome other experienced officers, were ſent over to diſpoſe the malcontents here to perform their part in this undertaking. But when all things were ſuppoſed to be in perfect readineſs, the whole ſcheme was happily diſcovered; and on the twenty-fourth of *February*, the king came to the houſe of commons, and in a ſet ſpeech informed them of the whole affair [i]. At the ſame time orders were given for

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" der of the world. She ſo warmly plyed the French admi-
" ral, that ſhe forced him out of his three-decked wooden
" caſtle; and chaſing the Royal Sun before her, forced her to
" fly for ſhelter among the rocks, where ſhe became a prey to
" leſſer veſſels, that reduced her to aſhes. At length, leaky
" and defective herſelf with age, ſhe was laid up at Chatham,
" in order to be rebuilt; but being ſet on fire by negligence,
" ſhe was, upon the twenty-ſeventh of this month, devoured by
" that element, which ſo long and ſo often before ſhe had im-
" periouſly made uſe of, as the inſtrument of deſtruction to
" others."

[i] As I do not enter any farther into the hiſtory of theſe times, than is abſolutely neceſſary to the underſtanding the facts I relate, ſo I choſe to give this, and other paſſages of a like nature, from the moſt authentic pieces I have met with. The following conciſe detail of the conſpiracy, was publiſhed in the London Gazette, No. 3161, with the king's ſpeech, and the joint addreſs of both houſes.

" By the great mercy of God, a diſcovery has been made of
" a moſt horrid and deteſtable conſpiracy, in which many
" wicked and traitorous perſons were engaged to aſſaſſinate his
" majeſty,

for aſſembling, with the utmoſt diligence, the greateſt number of ſhips poſſible; and admiral *Ruſſel*, after having aſſiſted at a board of *Admiralty*, where proper inſtructions were prepared, went down to *Deal*, and on the twenty-fifth of *February* hoiſted the *Union* flag on board the *Victory*, and in a few days ſtood over to the coaſt of *France*, having under his command upwards of fifty ſhips of the line, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, at a time when the *French* believed we could not aſſemble ten; which extraordinary expedition confounded all their deſigns, and rendered the invaſion abſolutely impracticable, after all the pains and expence that had been for ſome months employed about it [k].

On

" majeſty, when he went abroad. At the ſame time, a riſing " was intended within the kingdom, and an invaſion from " France; to which end, divers French troops were drawn to- " wards Dunkirk and Calais, and tranſport-veſſels and boats " were got together at thoſe places, of all which his majeſty " having received ſeveral concurring informations and advices, " orders were given for apprehending the conſpirators. Many " of whom have been already ſeized, and ſuch ſtrict ſearch is " made after the reſt, that it is hoped few or none of them will " eſcape the hands of juſtice. The forces in England are in a " readineſs to march, and a conſiderable body of his majeſty's " troops in Flanders, lie ready to embark at Oſtend. Admi- " ral Ruſſel is in the Downs, with a ſquadron of his majeſty's " ſhips, who will be daily reinforced by other men of war " from the river and Spithead And the care that has been " taken for the defence and ſafety of the kingdom, will, we " doubt not, with the bleſſing of God, be ſufficient to diſap- " point the deſigns of our enemies." [k] On the twenty-fourth of February, there were but eleven ſhips in the Downs, and by the twenty-eighth, the admiral had with him one firſt rate, twelve third, twenty four fourths, and three fifth rates, beſides fire-ſhips, and the following flags under him, viz. lord Berkley, admiral of the Blue; ſir Cloudeſley Shovel, vice-admiral of the Red; Mr. Aylmer, vice-admiral of the Blue; twelve Dutch ſhips, under two rear-admirals.

On the twenty-eighth of *February*, the admiral came to an anchor off *Gravelin*, with part of the fleet; and lord *Berkley*, with a ſquadron under his command, lay between him and *Dunkirk*. As the admiral paſſed by *Calais*, he perceived the harbour crowded with all ſorts of ſmall veſſels, for the intended embarkation of the *French* troops. As for the ſeventeen men of war, which were to have eſcorted them, thirteen were run in as cloſe to the pier of *Dunkirk* as poſſible, and proved to be all large ſhips. Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, with ſome other experienced officers, was ſent to look upon them, to ſee if there was any poſſibility of burning them or not; but after a long conſultation with Mr. *Meeſters* and the engineers, it was declared to be impracticable; and thereupon the admiral determined to quit that ſtation, and return into *Dover* road, leaving a ſquadron under ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, to watch the motions of the enemy[l]. This ſquadron continued cruizing in the *Downs* all the month of *March*, without attempting any thing; but towards the end of the month, being reinforced with ſeveral *Dutch* ſhips, fire-ſhips, and bomb-veſſels, he received orders, on the ſecond of *April*, to undertake the bombardment of *Calais*; in purſuance of which, he immediately came before that town, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for performing his orders. On the third, the bomb-veſſels began to fire about noon, and continued firing till evening, in which time above three hundred bombs and carcaſſes fell either in the town, or among the ſhips in the harbour, with ſuch effect, as to kindle fires in both, and muſt certainly have done a great deal of miſchief[m]. But as moſt of the bomb-veſſels and brigantines

[l] Burchet's memoirs, p. 325. [m] Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Quincy, P. Daniel, Memoirs de Fourbin.

brigantines had their rigging deſtroyed, and their mortars diſmounted, (the wind too blowing very hard from the ſhore) ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, having left a ſquadron to keep in the *French* men of war at *Dunkirk*, returned into the *Downs*, where he received orders on the eleventh of *April* to join the grand fleet at *Spithead*. But before he could execute theſe orders, ſir *George Rooke* arrived in the *Downs* with his fleet from the *Streights*, and took upon him the command [n].

ALL the views of *France* were now totally diſappointed, and the *Engliſh* ſtrength at ſea become ſo formidable, that they were able to undertake little or nothing againſt it. Yet to keep up the ſpirits of the people, and in ſome meaſure to embaraſs the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, orders were diſpatched to the *Toulon* ſquadron, directing that it ſhould immediately ſail into the ocean; and at the ſame time *John du Bart* was commanded to proceed out of the harbour of *Dunkirk*, with eight men of war and two fire-ſhips. In the mean time ſir *George Rooke* arrived at *Spithead*, after having detached ſeveral of his cleaneſt ſhips for particular ſervices, received there a commiſſion, appointing him admiral and commander in chief of the fleet. His inſtructions were, to lie in ſuch a ſtation as ſhould be moſt proper for preventing the *Toulon* ſquadron from getting into any of the ports of *France*; upon meeting them he was to fight, and upon his receiving notice of their getting into any port, he was to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to burn or deſtroy them there; or, in caſe he had intelligence of their getting ſafe to *Breſt*, he was then to return to *Torbay*, and to remain there till he ſhould receive further orders. On the fourteenth of *May*, 1696, ſir *George Rooke*, with the fleet,

[n] See our memoirs of ſir George Rooke.

fleet, being on the coaſt of *France*, received certain intelligence, that the *Toulon* ſquadron was ſafely arrived at *Breſt*. Upon this he held a council of war, wherein it was reſolved, that, as many of the largeſt ſhips in the fleet were very foul, and the whole much inferior to the combined ſquadrons in the harbour of *Breſt*, they ſhould immediately purſue the laſt part of their inſtructions, and return to *Torbay*; which accordingly they did, and there the fleet was ſoon reinforced to the number in the whole of one hundred and fifteen ſail, of which no fewer than eighty-five were of the line of battle [o].

A reſolution having been taken in the privy council, as to the bombarding the *French* coaſts, orders were ſent to ſir *George Rooke*, towards the latter end of the month of *May*, to return to the ſervice of the board, as one of the lords of the *Admiralty*, it being intended to entruſt the fleet, or at leaſt ſuch a part of it as ſhould be employed in the before-mentioned ſervice, to the care of the lord *Berkley*, of *Stratton*, who had behaved ſo gallantly the year before. Theſe orders reached ſir *George Rooke* on the twenty-ſeventh of *May*, 1696; but before he returned to *London* he received advice, that ſeventy *French* men of war were actually lying in *Camaret-Bay*, with three blue flags, and a white one flying; of which he not only gave advice to the *Admiralty*, but on his coming to town, addreſſed himſelf to the duke of *Shrewsbury*, then ſecretary of ſtate, to whom he made the following propoſal: "That the "body of the fleet ſhould lie in *Camaret* and *Bertheaume* "bays, and a detachment be made to ſuſtain the ſmall "frigates and bomb-veſſels, while they went in to do "what miſchief they could. It was his opinion, that "thus

[o] Burchet's memoirs, p. 341.

" thus blocking up the enemy's fleet in their principal " port, inſulting their coaſts, and burning their towns all " at the ſame time, would expoſe them exceedingly to the " world, make them very uneaſy at home, and give high " reputation to his majeſty's arms. And all this he be- " lieved might be done, if ſpeedily undertaken, with the " aſſiſtance of ſome ſmall frigates, which were much " wanted." If this ſcheme had been immediately pur- ſued, it might, in all probability, have been executed with ſucceſs. But after being laid before, and examined by, the privy-council, it was at laſt ſent down to the fleet, to be re-conſidered there by a council of war; when loſs of time, and other accidents, had rendered it leſs practicable, and therefore we need not wonder that it was rejected P.

LORD *Berkley*, hoiſted the union flag on board the *Britannia*, on the third of *June*, 1696, the ſame day that ſir *George Rooke* ſet out for *London*; but he ſoon found, that notwithſtanding his commiſſion, he was very far from having the command of the fleet. For having propoſed to a council of war the attacking of *Breſt*, which was the project approved by the privy-council, they reſolved that it was in their opinion impracticable, as on the ſixteenth of the ſame month they did the ſame as to the propoſal of ſir *George Rooke*, before-mentioned. His lordſhip reſolving, however, not to remain any longer inactive, ſailed on the twenty-fourth for the *French* coaſt q. On the third of *July*,

P Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 546. Memoirs of ſir George Rooke, Hiſtory of the laſt war. Though this propoſition did not turn to the nation's advantage, yet it was of ſome uſe to ſir George himſelf; when, as we ſhall hereafter obſerve, the houſe of commons enquired into the conduct of the fleet, and at the ſame time into his behaviour. q London Gazette, No. 3197, Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, life of king William, Preſent State of Europe, &c.

July, the admiral ſent the *Burford* and the *Newcaſtle*, with a fire-ſhip, to the iſland of *Groy*, with orders to land. On the fourth the fleet came to an anchor about two leagues from *Belliſle*, and barges and pinnaces were immediately manned, in order to make a deſcent upon *Hoat*, one of the iſlands called *Cardinals*, which they performed, ravaged the whole iſland, and burnt the only town that was upon it: they did the ſame in the iſland of *Hodicke*, and brought off a great number of cattle. On the fifth a great reinforcement was ſent to captain *Fitzpatrick*, who had landed in the iſland of *Groy*, where they deſtroyed twenty villages, containing about thirteen hundred houſes, took a ſhip from *Newfoundland*, and twenty ſmall veſſels, and carried off about fifteen hundred horſes and black cattle[r]. The ſame day ſir *Martin Beckman*, who was ſent to bombard the town of St. *Martins*, in the iſle of *Rhee*, performed his commiſſion very exactly, throwing in the ſpace of one night, two thouſand two hundred and thirty bombs and carcaſſes into the place, by which the beſt part of the town was burnt down, with all their warehouſes, and the goods contained in them; notwithſtanding the place was very well fortified, and our ſquadrons ſuſtained a very warm fire all the time. On the ſeventh the ſame ſquadron, which conſiſted but of ten men of war, bombarded *Ollonne*, and in the ſpace of a night threw into it almoſt two thouſand bombs and carcaſſes, which had ſuch an effect, that the town was ſeen to be on fire in fifteen places at once[s]. After this,

[r] I have followed in the text the orthography of lord Berkley's relation, as it is printed in the Gazette, No. 3203. but the proper names of thoſe iſlands are Grouais, Houat, Heydic. The admiral certainly acted right in landing where he might do moſt miſchief, and expoſe his men leaſt. [s] London Gazette, No. 4204. Pointer's chronological hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 431. Life of king William, Preſent State of Europe.

this, the admiral not finding it convenient to land on *Belliſle*, continued to alarm the *French* coaſt till towards the latter end of the month; and then, through want of proviſions, and the weakneſs of the fleet, occaſioned by making ſeveral detachments, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of returning to *Spithead*[t].

THE *French* affected to ridicule theſe bombardments, and the ſame humour ſeems very unaccountably to have poſſeſſed abundance of people at home. Even Mr. *Burchet*, ſpeaking of my lord *Berkley*'s exploits, calls them *little Enterprizes*; and yet nothing is more certain, than that the *French* were grievouſly affected by them, their country being kept in a perpetual alarm. This the reader will eaſily diſcern, when he is told, that between *Breſt* and *Goulet* there were forty batteries erected on one ſide, and twenty-five on the other; that on theſe batteries, were mounted, nineteen mortars, and four hundred and eighty nine pieces of heavy cannon, and above ſixty thouſand men, quartered up and down on the coaſts, to prevent the bad effects of an invaſion. If *France* had been under no concern, ſuch precautions would never have been taken, and if ſhe was, the bombardments, that ſpread this terror, muſt not have been ſuch ſlight things as ſome writers repreſent them, or if they were, what were thoſe whom they ſo frighted[u]?

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[t] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 547, 548. [u] Hiſtoire Militaire, tom. iii. p. 276, Memoires hiſtoriques et chronologiques, P. Daniel, Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 548. But M. Deviſe, the French Gazetteer, exceeds them all in his account of the matter. The exploits of the Engliſh, ſays he, are ſo extravagant, that they are ſcarce credible, and their expeditions ſo pitiful, that they ſerve only to excite ſcorn and contempt. All they did during their ſtay at Belliſle, was to make a deſcent on the iſland of Grouais, a defenceleſs place, where they burnt a few houſes, carried off a parcel of ſheep, ham-

IT is agreed on all hands, that the care taken this year of our trade, was ſo great, and the orders of the lords of the *admiralty* were ſo well executed, that our ſeveral fleets of merchant-men returned ſafe, notwithſtanding the *French* made it their principal buſineſs to intercept them. In two inſtances indeed we were ſomewhat unlucky, the firſt was in *Newfoundland*, of which an account will be given elſewhere, the other in reſpect to the *Dunkirk* ſquadron, of which the following is a very exact account. In the month of *May*, 1696, rear-admiral *Benbow* had the command given him of a ſmall number of ſhips, with orders to prevent *Du Bart* from getting out of that port. When the rear-admiral arrived before it, he found the *French* ſquadron ready to ſail, and his own too ſmall to guard both the eaſt and north channel. He did, however, his beſt; but the weather proving hazy, and he cruizing before the north channel, *Du Bart* gave him the ſlip, and having a fair wind, was quickly out of reach [w]. Rear-admiral *Benbow* reſolved, however, to purſue him, and did ſo; but the *Dutch*, for want of proper orders, refuſed to follow him. *Du Bart* in the mean time executed his ſcheme, which was to attack the *Dutch Baltick* fleet in their return home, which he performed on the eighth of *June*. This fleet conſiſted of upwards of one hundred ſail of merchant-ſhips, under an eſcort of five frigates. *Du Bart* took all

ſtring'd 150 horſes, and killed the cattel in a church-yard. They burnt alſo a few houſes in the iſlands of Houat and Heydic. In fine, continues he, the very powder they have ſpent in theſe fruitleſs attempts, muſt have coſt more than the damage, they have done, amounts to. This was certainly very proper news for the court to publiſh, in order to keep up the ſpirits of the people; but an Hiſtorian ſurely deſerves blame who copies after ſuch an author.

[w] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 549, 550.

the men of war, and at leaſt half the merchant-men. In the height of this victory the outward-bound *Baltick* fleet appeared in ſight under an eſcort of thirteen men of war, who immediately attacked *Du Bart*, and forced him to burn four of the men of war, and thirty-five merchant-men, and to turn the fifth frigate, which had on board the crews of all the reſt, adrift, ſo that ſhe was re-taken; but according to the *French* accounts, he returned after all with fifteen prizes into the road of *Dunkirk* [x]. Rear-admiral *Benbow* convoyed afterwards, with his ſquadron, our northern-bound fleet to *Gottenbourgh*, and thence proceeded to *Hamburgh*, and returning homewards in the month of *September*, he had ſight of *Du Bart*'s ſquadron, and chaſed him till he ſaw it was to no purpoſe: however, he had the ſatisfaction ſoon after of joining four *Engliſh*, and eleven *Dutch Eaſt India* ſhips, which came north-about, and thereby eſcaped the *French* privateers, and luckily enough for them, even *Du Bart* himſelf, though they muſt have had ſight of his ſquadron [y].

THUS ended the naval operations of this year, in this part of the world, where we certainly diſappointed all the *French* deſigns, did them no ſmall damage on their coaſts, kept the beſt part of their fleets blocked up in their harbours, and protected our trade better than it had been for many years paſt; yet in the next ſeſſion of parliament, which began on the 20th of *October*, 1696, one of the firſt things the houſe of commons did, was, to enter into an enquiry into the late miſcarriages of the fleet, and this expoſed Sir *George Rooke*, and Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* to ſeveral ſtrict

[x] Hiſtoire Militaire, tom. iii. p. 279, Riencourt, tom. iii. p. 489. Limiers, tom. ii. p. 606. [y] Burchets's naval hiſtory, p. 551.

ſtrict examinations; in which, however, nothing appearing that could be conſtrued either an omiſſion or breach of duty, the affair dropt, and the houſe afterwards voted the ſum of 2,372,197 *l.* for the maintenance of forty thouſand ſeamen, and of the two marine regiments, and for the ordinary of the navy, and the charge of the regiſtry of ſeamen [z].

We are now arrived at that point of our hiſtory, which naturally leads us to take a view of what paſſed in the *Weſt-Indies* from the beginning of the war, to the cloſe of the next year 1697; and as our reaſons for treating this ſubject at once have been already given at large, we ſhall enter upon it here without further introduction. The revolution took place in our colonies, as eaſily as it had done at home, on a principle which was very emphatically expreſſed by one of our governors, who, when he was ſummoned by a man of war to ſubmit to king *William* and queen *Mary*, very ſenſibly anſwered, that, if they were king and queen at *Whitehall*, they ſhould be ſo there, and proclaimed them immediately. By this means the plantations were ſecured againſt every thing except foreign invaſions, and to theſe they were not long expoſed; ſince towards the end of the year 1689, orders were given for fitting out a ſquadron for *Barbadoes*, and the *Leward Iſlands*, under the command of captain *Lawrence Wright*, who was directed to ſail as ſoon as poſſible, and had very ample inſtructions given him [a]. It fell out, however, in conſe-

[z] See the Journals of the houſe of Commons, Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

[a] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 451. This ſquadron conſiſted of ten ſail of men of war, viz. One third rate, ſeven fourth, and two fifth rates, two fire-ſhips and a Ketch. The duke of Bolton's regiment of foot embarked on board

quence of abundance of unluckly accidents, that he did not leave *Plymouth* till the eighth of *March* following. Arriving in *Carliſle* bay on the eleventh of *May*, 1690, he found all things there in a better poſture than he expected, and towards the latter end of the month, when his men were pretty well recovered of the ſcurvy, he ſailed for the *Leward Iſlands*, in order to aſſiſt general *Codrington*, who was preparing for an expedition againſt St. *Chriſtopher's*, where we had been joint poſſeſſors with the *French*, who had now driven us out, and had made themſelves maſters of the whole iſland [b].

THE commodore ſailed on the third of *June* to *Montſerrat*, where he was joined by the general from *Antigua*, with ſuch a force, as the *Engliſh* colonies could ſupply. Thence they proceeded together to *Nevis*, in conſequence of a reſolution taken in a council of war, to make a deſcent as ſoon as poſſible, upon the iſland of St. *Chriſtopher*. On the twenty third, Sir *Timothy Thornhill* landed with five hundred men, to the eaſt of *Frigot's* bay; and having twice engaged and routed the *French*, marched on to *Baſſe-Terre*, and in the way, beat the *French* forces a third time. This broke the ſpirits of the enemy to ſuch a degree, that they gave general *Codrington* no diſturbance, when he landed with three thouſand men, and marched the ſame way. The fleet at the ſame time ſailed into the road, in order to batter the town and forts, while the general attacked it by land. The *French*, however, ſaved them the trouble, by aban-

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board it, and the Commodore was inſtructed to uſe his beſt endeavours to ſecure the Engliſh Colonies, aſſiſt the Dutch, and diſtreſs the French; in all which, he was directed to take the advice of councils of war, of general Codrington, the governor and council of Barbadoes, &c. [b] Burchet, Kennet, Columna Roſtrata, Hiſtoire militaire P. Daniel.

abandoning the place, and ſetting it on fire. In about three weeks time, the whole iſland was reduced, and the ſeaſon of hurricanes coming on, the fleet returned triumphantly to *Barbadoes*, and the deſign of making farther conqueſts, was poſtponed to another year [c].

In the month of *January*, 1691, the commodore received freſh orders from *England*, directing him to ſtay ſome time longer in *America*; upon which he took up ſix of the largeſt merchant-ſhips, turned them into men of war, and on the twelfth of *February* ſailed for the *Leward-Iſlands*. There an unhappy difference ſprung up between him and general *Codrington*, which ruined the expedition. For though in the month of *April* they landed in *Marigallante*, and in a great meaſure ruined that ſettlement, from whence they proceeded to *Guadelupe*, and remained there ſome time; yet on the news of a *French* ſquadron's being in the neighbourhood, they haſtily re-embarked their forces, and reſolved to abandon the enterprize, at the ſame time almoſt that the *French* had determined to abandon the iſland. Soon after this, Commodore *Wright* returned to *Barbadoes*, where finding his conduct univerſally diſliked, he under pretence of ſickneſs, quitted the command, having firſt ſeparated the ſquadron to different ſervices; and ſoon after returned, with very little reputation to *England* [d]. A certain author indeed tells us, that he was ſent home a priſoner, of which, if it had been ſo, I think ſecretary

[c] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 555, 556, 557. This was in ſome meaſure owing to the ſickneſs of the troops, and to ſeveral ſhips being diſabled; but was chiefly occaſioned by the Commodore's receiving orders to return to England, which, as we ſhall ſee were very quickly countermanded. [d] Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 54. Hiſtory of the war, Preſent ſtate of Europe, 1691. [e] Burchet's Memoirs, p. 123.

cretary *Burchet* would ſcarcely have been ignorant, and yet the contrary is expreſly ſaid by him, though he does indeed intimate that he deſerved it[e]. However we hear no more of him or his deſerts!

THE ſame year ſome other expeditions were undertaken againſt the *French* in this part of the world. The colony of *New-England* found itſelf ſo liable to diſturbance from the ſettlement the *French* had at *Port-Royal*, in *Nova-Scotia*, that it was reſolved to attack it, and that too, as ſoon as the war broke out. With this view, a conſiderable fleet, with ſeven hundred land-forces on board, was fitted out under the command of ſir *William Phips*, who ſailed from *Nantaſcot* on the twenty-eighth of *April*, 1690, and by the middle of the next month he completed his deſign, and reduced *Port-Royal*, and the adjacent ſettlements, under the dominion of the *Engliſh*. His quick ſucceſs in this, induced the colony to undertake an enterprize of greater importance, which was no leſs than the reduction of *Quebec*, the capital of the *French* ſettlements in *Canada*. This was certainly a well laid ſcheme, and if it had been executed with equal prudence, muſt have turned very highly to the advantage of the *Engliſh*; as experience has convinced us ſince. The colony ſhewed on this occaſion a very extraordinary meaſure of public ſpirit, by raiſing no leſs than two thouſand men, whom they embarked on board their fleet of thirty-two ſail, great and ſmall, without demanding or expecting any aſſiſtance from hence[f].

WITH this force ſir *William Phips* ſailed from *Hull*, near *Boſton*, on the ninth of *Auguſt*, and arrived about the beginning

[e] Burchet's memoirs, p. 123. [f] Britiſh empire in America, vol. i. p. 22,

beginning of *September*, before the river of *Canada*, but was there unluckily by contrary winds detained in ſuch a manner, as that it was three weeks before they arrived at *Quebec*. This gave the count de *Frontenac*, governor there for the *French*, an opportunity to prepare for his defence, and of drawing all the ſtrength of the colony to *Quebec*, which ſir *William Phips* expected would have been divided by an army marching over land, and attacking *Mount-Royal* fort, at the ſame time that he fell upon the city. This army was to conſiſt of a thouſand men from *New-York*, *Connecticut*, and *Plymouth* colonies, and fifteen hundred *Iroquois*. The *Engliſh* marched as far as the great lake of *Canada*, but not finding canoes ready for them to paſs it, and the *Indians* not joining them according to their agreement, they returned; by which ſad miſcarriage count *Frontenac* had no need to make any detachments for the ſecurity of *Mount-Royal*. Sir *William* ſummoned the count to ſurrender the city, but received a very inſolent and haughty anſwer. On the eighth of *October*, the *Engliſh* landed under lieutenant-general *Whalley*, to the number of fourteen hundred, for to that number they were now reduced by the ſmall-pox, and other diſeaſes. In the mean while, ſir *William* brought his ſhips to bear on the weſt end of the city, waiting when general *Whalley* would begin the aſſault. But this gentleman hearing that count de *Frontenac* had four thouſand men within, and was provided to make a vigorous defence, notwithſtanding the entreaties of the *Engliſh* ſoldiers to the contrary, reſolved immediately to re-embark. Sir *William* expecting the ſignal for their attacking the town on the eaſt ſide, ſent a meſſenger on ſhore to know the reaſon of their not giving the aſſault; which when he underſtood, and ſaw many of the men

were

were almoſt frozen to death, to which we may add the colonel and others ill of the ſmall-pox, he ordered them on board to refreſh themſelves; and calling a council of war, it was therein reſolved to return. Thus ended this fruitleſs expedition, which coſt the colony of *New-England* ſo large a ſum of money, and as to which, mighty expectations had been raiſed [g]!

SEVERAL accounts have been given of this unlucky expedition; but moſt of them written either with a view to load the character of ſir *William Phips*, or elſe purely to excuſe his conduct. The bounds of this work will not permit an ample examination of the whole affair, much leſs a recapitulation of what has been ſaid on both ſides. Yet thus much I think, from an impartial conſideration of the facts ſtated by both parties, it is my duty to declare, that ſir *William Phips* intended well, and did his beſt through the whole expedition; though, perhaps, neither his education nor experience, had qualified him for a command of ſo extenſive a nature. But, beſides any miſtakes he might fall into, there were many untoward accidents which contributed to fruſtrate this deſign, and therefore it is equally cruel and unjuſt to lay the blame entirely at his door. This is certain, that no man could be more ſenſibly affected than he was by this diſappointment; and yet he made it the buſineſs of the remaining part of his life, to diſpoſe all things for another attempt, in hopes the ſucceſs of that might efface the memory of the former miſcarriage, and this ought to be remembered to his honour [h].

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[g] See the life of ſir William Phips, by Cotton Mather, Lahontan's voyages, vol. i. p. 155. Letter from New-England, dated November 22, 1690, containing an account of the Quebec expedition. [h] Britiſh Empire in America, vol. i. p. 22.

The

In the latter end of *October*, 1691, captain *Ralph Wren*, who then commanded the *Norwich*, had orders to ſail with that, and two other fourth rates, to *Barbadoes*, and from thence to the *Leeward-Iſlands*, where he was to take upon him the command of ſuch ſhips as were in that ſtation; and his general inſtructions were, to ſecure the trade and plantations, and to annoy the enemy. He ſailed from *Plymouth* on the twelfth of *December*, and on the ſixteenth of the next month arrived in *Carliſle-Bay*, in *Barbadoes*. He had not been there long, before he was informed, that the *French* had a ſtout ſquadron at ſea, which had taken the *Jerſey*, that was to have joined commodore *Wren*.

Upon the news of this, the governor and council of *Barbadoes* agreed, that two large merchant-ſhips ſhould be fitted out, in order to join the five men of war already under the commodore; and that with theſe he ſhould attack the *French* ſquadron, though it conſiſted of nine ſail. Accordingly the commodore quitted *Barbadoes* on the thirteenth of *January*, and cruized for about a week, but without ſeeing the enemy, and then returned. Another council of war being held, it was therein reſolved, that the commodore ſhould proceed with his ſquadron, and the merchant-ſhips that were then ready, for the *Leeward-Iſlands*. This he accordingly performed, and on the twenty-firſt of *February*, he fell in with a *French* ſquadron of eighteen men of war, from ſixty to forty guns. They laboured all night to engage him, and about eight in the morning, on the twenty-ſecond, the enemy having a freſh

The New-England letter before-mentioned, which was reprinted at London, in 1691, in 4to. with remarks upon it, under the title of, The humble addreſs of the publicans of New-England, to which king you pleaſe.

freſh gale, and moſt of the commodore's ſquadron not a breath of wind, four of their ſhips bore down upon the *Mary*, commanded by lieutenant *Wyat*, who defended her very well, until the commodore could come to her aſſiſtance. At the ſame time the *Mordaunt*, commanded by captain *Boteler*, with one of the hired ſhips, and the *England Frigate*, commanded by captain *Stubbs*, were warmly engaged in the very midſt of the enemy; but they cleared themſelves with all the bravary imaginable. The commodore finding the great diſproportion as to the ſtrength, his ſquadron conſiſting then but of ſeven ſhips, and that the merchant-ſhips, which were under his care, had taken the proper and uſual methods for their own ſecurity, he, after a warm engagement of four hours, wiſely provided for the ſafety of the ſhips of war under his command, by bearing away. He did it, however, with ſo little ſail, that he ſecured the three ſhips which the enemy gave chaſe to: and they, as much tired of his company, readily ſtood away from him. Thus by a due mixture of courage and conduct, the commodore ſaved his ſmall ſquadron, and gained an high reputation, this having been reckoned one of the beſt conducted actions of the war. The gallant commander, however, did not long enjoy that ſatisfaction which muſt neceſſarily reſult from performing ſo ſignal a ſervice as he had done to his country; for as at the very time of the engagement he was in a declining ſtate of health, ſo very ſoon after his diſeaſe carried him off, and in *Auguſt* following, part of his ſquadron, under the command of captain *Boteler*, returned to *England*[i].

THE

[i] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 459. Britiſh empire in America, life of king William, hiſtory of the laſt war, Preſent State of Europe.

The government being very ſenſible of the inconveniencies reſulting from their want of having a ſufficient force in the *Weſt-Indies*, reſolved in the year 1692, to put an end to the complaints that had been made from moſt of the colonies on that ſubject, by ſending a powerful fleet thither, under the command of ſir *Francis Wheeler*, as gallant and as judicious an officer, as any in the navy. The ſquadron he was to command conſiſted of twelve men of war, beſides ſmaller veſſels; and he was likewiſe empowered to take under his command ſuch ſhips of war, as he ſhould find in that part of the world. He had under his convoy alſo a certain number of tranſports, with fifteen hundred land troops, and had aſſurance given him, that he ſhould find another body of very good troops, ready aſſembled in *Barbadoes*; and in conjunction with them he had orders to attack ſome of the *French* ſettlements, which it was judged very practicable for him to reduce [k].

Sir *Francis* left our coaſt in the beginning of *January*, and on the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month touched at *Madeira*, from whence he ſailed for *Barbadoes*, and arrived there on the firſt of *March*. There it was unanimouſly reſolved, in a full council of war, that *Martinico* ſhould be the place attacked; and advice was ſent to general *Codrington* of the arrival of the ſquadron, that he might draw together the forces of the *Leeward-Iſlands*, in order to join the regiments brought from *England*, and the troops (about eight hundred foot) raiſed in *Barbadoes*; to which ſir *Francis Wheeler* offered to join another regiment, compoſed of ſeamen, to be commanded as colonel by him in

[k] The ſtate of ſir Francis Wheeler's ſquadron was this; two third rates. ſix fourths, three fifths, one ſixth, three fire-ſhips, a ſtore ſhip, hoſpital, aud bomb veſſel. See Burchet's memoirs, &c.

in perſon. *April* the fifteenth, 1693, the ſquadron, with all theſe troops on board, arrived at *Cul de Sac Royal*, in *Martinico*; but inſtead of proceeding to perform without delay what they came thither about, it was reſolved in a council of war, held on the twentieth, that the men ſhould re-embark, and the ſquadron ſail to *Dominica*, there to take in water, and to give the men, who were very ſickly, an opportunity of refreſhing themſelves. As the commodore was very ſenſible this manner of acting would be indifferently reliſhed at home, he deſired and inſiſted, that every member of the council of war ſhould give his opinion in writing; by which it appears, ſcarce any but ſir *Francis Wheeler*, and lieutenant-colonel *Colt*, were for landing and acting vigorouſly. The reaſons inſiſted on by ſuch as voted for a contrary meaſure, were, that the enemy had a ſuperior force, that one full third of our ſoldiers were *Iriſh* papiſts, not to be relied on, and that hazarding an engagement in theſe circumſtances, was hazarding the whole *Leeward-Iſlands*, ſince, in caſe of a defeat, they had not a ſufficient force to defend them. Theſe were chiefly inſiſted on by general *Codrington*, who declared, however, that he was ready to attempt *Dominica*, provided the fleet could remain in thoſe parts ſix weeks or two months; but this being inconſiſtent with the commodore's inſtructions, and the troops from *Barbadoes* impatient to return, was not, indeed, could not be, complied with[1]. Such was the iſſue of this expedition, of which, in *England*,

from

[1] The French made a grand affair of this, and have drawn up fine accounts of their repulſing and defeating the Engliſh, though there happened but two ſlight ſkirmiſhes. Journal hiſtorique de Louis XIV. p. 172. Hiſtoire militaire, par M. Quincy, tom. ii. Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. tom. v.

from the commodore's known character, there were high expectations.

Sir *Francis*, towards the latter end of *May*, ſailed for *New-England*, and arrived at *Boſton* on the twelfth of *June*. He immediately propoſed to ſir *William Phips*, then governor, the attacking *Quebec* a ſecond time. But though nothing could have been more agreeable to that brave and public-ſpirited man, yet as circumſtances then ſtood, he could not cloſe with it. Such an expedition required a ſtrength of four thouſand men at leaſt, and theſe (having had no previous notice) the governor could not poſſibly draw together by the beginning of *July*, which was the very lateſt a fleet that was to be thus employed could ſail; and therefore this grand deſign appearing every way impracticable, was dropt, even by thoſe two men, who of all others, had it moſt at heart. This diſappointment determined the commodore to quit *Boſton* as ſoon as poſſible; and therefore on the third of *Auguſt* he left that place, and proceeded for *Newfoundland*, reſolving to attempt ſomething there worthy of the force with which he left *England*, and the honour allowed him of carrying the *Union flag*, from a view to the advantages which, it was not doubted, would reſult to the nation from his expedition. On the eighteenth of *Auguſt* he arrived at *Placentia*, and found the enemy much ſtronger there than he expected; for, in the firſt place, the town was well fortified; next, there were in the harbour ſeveral ſtout privateers, the haven itſelf excellently provided with batteries, heavy cannon, bombs, *&c.* with at leaſt two thouſand ſoldiers and inhabitants, well diſciplined, and moſt of them old *Buccaneers*. Sir *Francis*, however, was not to be diſcouraged; he called a council of war, laid down the method

thod in which the place ought to be attacked at once by ſea and land, and took upon himſelf the going in with the men of war to batter the great fort, which was the moſt dangerous part of the undertaking. However, as there were eleven land to ſix ſea-officers in this council, they *reſolved* the whole to be impoſſible and impracticable. Sir *Francis Wheeler* was exceedingly chagrined at this new diſgrace, but to ſhew how little this inactivity agreed with his diſpoſition, he gave orders for deſtroying the *French* fiſhery at St. *Peter's*; which was done effectually, and ſo that it was not very ſoon, or very eaſily recovered [m].

On the twenty-eighth of *Auguſt*, he ſailed from the bay of *Bulls* in *Newfoundland* for *England*, where he did not arrive till the eighteenth of *October* following, his ſhips in a bad, and his men in a much worſe condition, ſo that they were ſcarce able to navigate them. Yet as unfortunate as this expedition proved from firſt to laſt, ſir *Francis Wheeler* never fell under the leaſt cenſure. The accounts he tranſmitted home, joined to the letters from the reſpective colonies, and the extracts of proceedings in councils of war, juſtified him ſo clearly, and ſet his courage and conduct in ſo fair a light, that, when he arrived at *Portſmouth*, he had the ſatisfaction of finding a commiſſion, appointing him rear-admiral of the *Red*; a preferment, which as it was obtained purely by merit, ſo it never expoſed him to envy [n].——But to look now to another coaſt.

The *Royal-African* company finding themſelves much diſturbed in their trade, by the new ſettlements made by the *French* in the mouth of the river *Sennegal*, and having exact

[m] Burchet's memoirs, p. 171, 172. Britiſh Empire in America, life of king William, Preſent State of Europe, hiſtory of the war. [n] Burchet's memoirs, p. 174. Sir George Rooke's memoirs, hiſtory of the laſt war.

exact intelligence of the ſchemes concerted by that nation for extending their own trade in thoſe parts, and deſtroying ours, reſolved to exert the great force they had in *Guinea*, to ſecure themſelves from all theſe apprehenſions, by attacking the enemy immediately, in order, if poſſible, to the diſpoſſeſſing them of their ſettlements before they could gain any intelligence of the deſign. If on their forming this project, they had applied themſelves to the adminiſtration, and had either procured aſſiſtance for the execution of it, or aſſurance of having their conqueſts protected, they had certainly carried their point, and the *French* been beaten out of that advantageous trade, perhaps, for ever. But they were at this time ſo much afraid of the enemy's penetrating whatever was tranſacted at the ſecretary's office, that the *African* company reſolved to riſque this undertaking, without communicating their ſecret to any body. With this view they ſent orders to *John Booker*, eſq; then their agent-general in *Guinea*, to attempt, if he found it practicable, the execution of the deſign which they had formed; and, that he might be ſatisfied as to the authority upon which he acted, they ſent him a copy of the commiſſion they had received from the king and queen, empowering them to commit hoſtilities, and annoy the enemy in all places within their juriſdiction [o].

Mr. *Booker*, upon receipt of theſe letters and this commiſſion, immediately applied himſelf to execute what the company directed, and in the month of *December*, 1692, having drawn together a ſufficient force, he embarked them on board the company's ſhips and ſloops, and ſailing from the river of *Gambia*, arrived in the mouth of the river of

[o] Churchill's collection of voyages, vol. v. p. 428. Hiſtory of the war, Preſent State of Europe, 1695.

Sennegal on new-year's-day, 1693 [p]. Having with some difficulty got over the bar, he made the necessary dispositions for attacking fort *Bourbon*; but the governor, M. *Dumoulin*, knowing his own condition best, and that he must soon be compelled to surrender, sent to Mr. *Booker* to demand terms, upon which he offered immediately to give up the place. This proposition was accepted, and the *English* that evening entered into possession of the fort, which the *French* had held upwards of fifty years. Mr. *Booker* continued here till the twenty-fifth of the same month, and then embarked his forces in order to make a descent on the island of *Goeree*, the only place which remained to the *French* in *Guinea*. He arrived there on the first of *February*, and after alarming the enemy till the fourth, he in the night landed an hundred men under the old fort, from whence he advanced to attack the new, called the fort of St. *Michael*, a well fortified place, furnished with twenty-eight pieces of cannon. They made some shew of defending themselves at first; but being indifferently provided with ammunition, about noon they desired to capitulate, and on the eighth marched out with all military honours, and were carried to *James-Island*, in vertue of the articles signed by Mr. *Booker*; from whence they were to be transported into *Europe*, on board the company's shipping, but at their own expence [q].

AFFAIRS in the *West-Indies* went all this time extremely ill: the *French* destroyed our trade by their privateers, disturbed our settlements continually, and frequently made

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[p] Mr. Booker's letter in the collection of voyages, that has been before cited. [q] Memoirs of the proceedings of the royal African company, from 1690, to 1701, by Mr. John Snow.

made deſcents upon them, particularly on *Jamaica*, where they made great havock, and enriched themſelves exceedingly at our expence. The few ſhips of war we had in thoſe parts, were ſo far from being able to defend our colonies effectually, that ſeveral of them were taken by the enemy; and in ſhort, things were in ſo bad a way, that the adminiſtration at home thought the loſs of our colonies no improbable thing, as appears by the inſtructions given to the commodores of the ſquadrons, and the commanders in chief of land troops. On the other hand, our good allies the *Spaniards*, were no leſs, or rather were ſtill more diſtreſſed by the enemy than we; all trade between their colonies was deſtroyed, their coaſts plundered, and every thing ſubject to the mercy of the privateers, that were equipped in whole ſquadrons from the *French* ſettlements in *Hiſpaniola*. As I profeſs to ſpeak truth without reſerve, as far as I can diſcover it, ſo upon this occaſion I think myſelf obliged to ſay, that theſe advantages were not ſo much owing either to the force or courage of the *French* in thoſe parts, as to the want of public ſpirit, and right management in us, as well as in the *Spaniards*. The *French* governors ſeem to have had nothing ſo much at heart as the glory of their country, and a juſt diſcharge of their own duty; whereas ours were generally involved in diſputes with the people they ſhould have protected, and much more intent on encreaſing their own private fortunes, and that too at any rate, than vindicating the honour of the nation, and ſecuring the properties of thoſe they governed. In one thing only they were commendable, that from time to time they made the moſt preſſing inſtances to the miniſtry at home, to take more care of our concerns in the *Weſt-Indies*, by ſending proper ſquadrons,

and with them ſufficient ſupplies of land-forces into thoſe parts [r].

About the beginning of the year 1694, ſome propoſals were laid before the council, for our undertaking, in conjunction with the *Spaniards*, to drive the *French* out of the iſland of *Hiſpaniola*. To this there was at firſt ſome attention given; but afterwards it being repreſented, as indeed the truth was, that the *Spaniards* were neither willing nor able to join with us in any ſuch undertaking, it was laid aſide. Other buſineſs intervening, neither the council nor the board of admiralty ſeem to have thought any more of the plantations, till towards the latter end of the year, when they were alarmed with the account of a briſk attempt made upon *Jamaica* by M. *Ducaſſe*, the *French* governor of St. *Domingo*. He ſailed in the month of *June* with three men of war, and twenty-three tranſports, having on board fifteen hundred men for the coaſt of *Jamaica*, where they arrived on the twenty-fourth of the ſame month, and made a deſcent on *Port-Morant*, which they found abandoned, and marching from thence up the country, they plundered, burnt, and deſtroyed whatever they met, and carried off money and effects to a very great value [s]. But they ſoon found that the fine ſchemes of conqueſt they had formed to themſelves, were altogether impracticable, and that the only thing they had to do, was to return with what they had got. The people of *Jamaica*, when they found their property in danger, aſſembled readily for its defence, and behaved themſelves ſo well in an engagement with the *French*, that it contributed not a little

[r] Britiſh empire in America, Hiſtory of the paſt and preſent ſtate of Jamaica, Hiſtory of the laſt war, &c. [s] See a detail of M. Ducaſſe's expedition againſt Jamaica, in, hiſtoire de St. Domingue, par le P. Charlevoix, vol. iii. p. 37.

little to make the latter for the preſent ſick of this deſign, and to hinder them from reſuming it afterwards [t].

THE complaints that were ſent home on this affair, joined to the repreſentations of other colonies, the remonſtrances of the *Weſt-India* merchants, and the fear of a parliamentary inquiry, (which was then terrible) obliged the miniſtry to reſume this long neglected ſubject, and to think ſeriouſly of ſending to *America* ſuch a force, and under ſuch officers, as might do more than had hitherto been done. With this view they directed, that a ſquadron of five ſail of men of war, and two fire-ſhips, with twelve tranſport-veſſels, ſhould be got ready with the utmoſt diligence and ſecrecy, to rendezvous at *Plymouth*, in the beginning of the year 1695. The command of the ſquadron was given to captain *Robert Wilmot*, an officer of great reputation and experience. The command of the land-forces was entruſted with colonel *Luke Lillingſton*, and that they might be more ſubject to orders, and better directed, they were reduced into a ſingle regiment, conſiſting of twelve hundred men; and beſides theſe, there were ſpare arms for another regiment, and in ſhort every thing elſe provided that could be deſired for ſecuring the ſucceſs of ſuch an expedition; and all this was done with ſuch ſecrecy, that even the officers, who were to be employed, had no diſtinct knowledge of the particular deſign they were to execute, but only knew in general, that they were to be ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, in order to protect our plantations, and annoy the enemy. When all things were ready, the commodore had his inſtructions given him ſealed up, with orders not to open them, till he arrived in the lati-

[t] Britiſh empire in America, Hiſtory of Jamaica, Hiſtory of the laſt war.

tude of forty degrees. Inſtructions were alſo given to colonel *Lillingſton*, for the regulating of his conduct, and for giving him a clear view of the extent of his command. Before they ſet out for *Plymouth*, both the commodore and the colonel were ſeparately exhorted to be extremely careful in keeping up a right correſpondence, becauſe that hitherto all our expeditions had ſuffered more through the weakneſs and miſunderſtandings of our own commanders, than through any extraordinary courage or conduct ſhewn by the enemy; and that this might be the eaſier, their commands were made as diſtinct as poſſible [u].

THE ſquadron ſailed from *Plymouth*, the latter end of the month of *January*; but before they were in a condition to act, the commanders had differed, and all things were in confuſion. Colonel *Lillingſton*, in his account, aſſerts, that the commodore opened his inſtructions in an unwarrantable manner; and, that after he had done ſo, he propoſed to the colonel, to take what care they could of themſelves, at the expence of the public ſervice. The colonel rejected this offer, as became a man of honour; and the commodore thenceforward, prepared to execute his ſcheme, in ſpight of all the colonel could do to prevent him [w]. Towards the latter end of *March*, 1695, they arrived before the city of St. *Domingo*, where the *Spaniſh* governor, on the receipt of the king of *Spain*'s letters, promiſed them all the aſſiſtance in his power; but how he performed this promiſe, is not very well agreed. Mr. ſecretary

[u] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 531, Colonel Lillingſton's remarks on Burchet's naval hiſtory, 8vo. 1704. [w] Reflections on Burchet's Memoirs, p. 19. I have been the longer in my account of this buſineſs, that the reader may ſee what are the true reaſons, why conjunct expeditions never ſucceed, and how neceſſary it is to call officers ſtrictly to account when they live to return home, in order to put an end to ſuch ſhameful practices.

cretary *Burchet* in his hiſtory, from the letters, no doubt, of commodore *Wilmot*, charges him with creating unneceſſary delays, which were of great prejudice to the expedition [x]. On the other hand, colonel *Lillingſton* aſſerts, that the *Spaniſh* governor behaved in every reſpect like a man of honour, concerted with him the meaſures neceſſary to be taken for attacking cape *Francois*, and performed all he undertook with the utmoſt punctuality. It muſt be obſerved, that the force of the allies then in *Hiſpaniola*, was ſuch, as that the ruin of the *French* ſettlements might have been well expected from it. The *Spaniſh* governor marched one thouſand ſeven hundred men; the commander of our land forces was able to debark about twelve hundred men; the commodore promiſed to join this force with five hundred ſeamen; the *Spaniards* actually added three men of war to our fleet, and to prevent any diſputes about the command, the *Spaniſh* admiral took down his flag [y].

THE firſt thing that was attempted, was the ruin of the *French* ſettlement at cape *Francois*. When the fleet was arrived within ſight of the place, the commodore abſolutely preſcribed the place where the land-forces ſhould go on ſhore; and though colonel *Lillingſton* repreſented to him, that it was extremely hard to oblige the troops to a march of five leagues and a half, when by rowing one league

[x] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 535. Indeed this gentleman ſeems to have an extraordinary pique againſt the Spaniards, whom, though our allies at that time, he never mentions but with reproach. This is the more injurious, ſince Mr. Burchet (though he had ſo great opportunity) never ſupports what he advances by any authority. It would, however, be hard to ſet the Judgment of a ſingle Man ſo high as to ſacrifice to it the character of a whole nation.

[y] Reflections on Burchet's memoirs, p. 48. where the agreement itſelf is to be found; for Colonel Lillingſton always produces vouchers.

league and a half, the boats might land them close by the fort which they were to attack; the commodore only gave him the hearing, but pursued his own project, and they soon discovered with what view. The *English* and *Spanish* troops joined, and continued their fatiguing march, 'till they arrived within five miles of fort St. *Francis*; where, they saw the *French* blow up their works, and abandon the place. When the troops came up, they were surprized to find *English* colours hoisted on the fort, and a single seaman left to attend them: but the mystery was soon explained, commodore *Wilmot* no sooner saw the place abandoned, than he rowed ashore with five hundred men, entered it, and carried off all that was worth carrying. This disgusted, as it well might, both the *English* and *Spanish* forces; and if they had not been composed of veteran troops, and men who had a great respect for their officers, a mutiny must have followed, which would have destroyed the whole design. But colonel *Lillingston* pacified them as well as he could, by promising to take care they should not be treated so for the future, if it was in his power to prevent it [z].

AFTER this extraordinary exploit, it was resolved to attempt port *de Paix*, where M. *Ducasse* commanded in person; but he quitted the place, leaving in it a garrison of six hundred men.

ON the first of *June*, the *English* and *Spanish* troops marched by two different roads, towards the place they were to attack, and the squadron sailed thither at the same time; but with this extraordinary circumstance, that if the *Spanish* admiral, out of pure humanity, had not left some transf-

[z] Ibid p. 54.

tranſports to take in our ſick men, they muſt have been left to periſh; for commodore *Wilmot* had ſomething elſe in his head than to take care of invalids, and had therefore ſailed as ſoon as the reſolution was taken. The march was very fatiguing, it took up ſixteen days before they arrived in ſight of *Port de Paix*; and then there was a great deal of time loſt in getting the artillery and ammunition on ſhore. At laſt, this too was performed, and then the ſiege of the place was begun in a regular manner; and the commodore, to ſhew his willingneſs to aſſiſt, landed a great body of ſeamen, and inveſted it on the other ſide. On the third of *July*, the breach being practicable, and colonel *Lillingſton* employed in making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general ſtorm, the enemy took a reſolution of deſerting the place, and forcing their way through the quarter of the commodore. Their force conſiſted of about five hundred and thirty men, of which about one hundred and fifty were negroes, but well armed and diſciplined. Their greateſt difficulty was, to carry off their women, children, and the moſt valuable part of their effects. The latter they packed up firſt, and put them in ſmall bundles on the backs of the women, who, with the children, marched in the front, under a good eſcort, while three hundred men fell into the quarters of our ſeamen, and by expoſing themſelves to a very brisk fire, which laſted for a long time, gave the reſt an opportunity to retreat. The affair was conducted with equal reſolution and addreſs; but not without a very conſiderable loſs. Colonel *Lillingſton*, as ſoon as he heard the firing, gueſſed at the cauſe, and immediately detached his brother, with two hundred and fifty men, to ſupport the ſeamen. When Major *Lillingſton* arrived, the affair was over, and he marched directly to take poſſeſſion of the fort,

fort, in order to ſecure whatever the *French* had left behind them; and having poſted centinels every where, and put the reſt of his men under arms, he thought that all was ſafe, but in this he was miſtaken; Commodore *Wilmot*, at the head of his whole corps of ſeamen, followed him inſtantly. As ſoon as the commodore came up to him, he clapped his hand upon his ſhoulder, with this familiar ſalutation, *Now, Major, I am ſtronger than you.* After which, he removed his guards, broke open the ſtore-houſes, and carried off every thing that was worth taking, *with a dexterity*, ſays Colonel *Lillingſton*, *very natural to ſeamen* [a].

THIS kind of proceeding was not like to produce much good; the commodore offered to carry the ſick men to *Jamaica*, and to leave Colonel *Lillingſton* to attempt, in conjunction with the *Spaniards*, the taking *Leogane* and *Petit-Guavas*; but they were weary of ſuch kind of treatment, and had ſo many men diſabled by the unneceſſary hardſhips to which they had been expoſed, that it was reſolved in a council of war, not to proſecute either of the deſigns before-mentioned; but to demoliſh the fort, ruin the adjacent country, carry off the artillery they had taken, and ſail with all the *Engliſh* forces to *Jamaica*. To this, the *Spaniſh* governor conſented, becauſe he ſaw the impoſſibility of their performing, in the condition they were in, what they had projected; and of this, he was the better judge, becauſe he had an exact account of the *French* forces that M. *Ducaſſe* was aſſembling at *Cul de Sac*, and with which, it was expected, he would march to give them battle, as having no other means of preſerving the *French* ſettlements; though in this there was a great deal of danger [b].

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[a] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 536. Reflections on Burchet's memoirs, p. 67. Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 73.
[b] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 537.

IT muſt not be ſuppoſed, that becauſe this expedition was in itſelf very ill managed, and far from being glorious to thoſe that undertook it; it muſt not, I ſay, be therefore ſuppoſed, that it did but very little prejudice to the *French*.

THE confederate army, in ſixty days, ruined their plantations for a hundred miles round, carried off a thouſand negroes, demoliſhed two ſtrong forts, wherein they took one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with a vaſt quantity of all ſorts of ammunition, and naval ſtores; ſo that there ſeems to be no reaſon to think colonel *Lillingſton* exaggerated, who computes the loſs of the *French* at 2,000,000*l.* c. But what recompence is this for the expence the nation was at in fitting out ſuch a ſquadron, and in ſending ſo great a body of land troops ſo far? What opinion muſt the commodore's conduct give our allies the *Spaniards*, of *Engliſh* armaments, and what notions could they entertain of

c It is neceſſary for me here to give the reader ſome account of the authorities on which the facts mentioned in the text are founded. In the year 1703, ſecretary Burchet publiſhed his memoirs of tranſactions at ſea, during the war with France, from 1688 to 1697. In theſe memoirs, p. 305. he gives a large account of this expedition, which is altogether in favour of Mr. Wilmot, and was very probably tranſcribed from his letters. In 1704, Colonel Luke Lillingſton publiſhed his reflections on Mr. Burchet's memoirs, in which he advances nothing but upon undeniable authority, producing inſtructions, letters, affidavits, and other neceſſary papers upon every occaſion. Yet, notwithſtanding all this, when ſecretary Burchet came to publiſh his naval hiſtory in 1720, he in a manner tranſcribed what he had before ſaid in his memoirs, correcting only a few facts from colonel Lillingſton's book, by which, however, he admits its authority, but without ſetting any mark of ignominy upon this moſt ſcandalous expedition. At this, Mr. Lediard very honeſtly expreſſes his ſurprize; but, for my own part, when I conſider, the admiralty never thought this affair worth an enquiry, I do not at all wonder their ſecretary did not think proper to cenſure it.

of the ſignificancy of our naval force, when they ſaw it ſo flagrantly miſapplied; our commander in chief having regard only to his private views, and encouraging his ſeamen upon all occaſions to behave like pirates? How much muſt this miſcarriage at once diſgrace and diſcourage an adminiſtration, ſince it ſeemed to ſhew, that all attempts of this ſort would prove as fruitleſs for the future, and ſerve only to exhauſt the treaſures of this nation, in order to enrich ſuch as leaſt deſerved it? I am very ſorry that I have been obliged to ſay ſo much; but every reader will do me the juſtice to own, that this ſubject compelled me to it. We ſuffer, at this day, for the miſdeeds of theſe times, and the falſe pity that was ſhewn in letting ſlip the public examination, of a thing ſo ſcandalous as this was[d]. Reflections like theſe, on the ſlips of our anceſtors, are proper leſſons for the preſent generation; and I think it my duty to inculcate them, in order to prevent our being wanting, in the ſame manner, to ourſelves and our poſterity.

THE account given us of this affair by *French* writers, agrees pretty well with our own. It is true, that they give great commendations to M. *Ducaſſe*, governor of St. *Domingo*, who was certainly a very gallant man, but who, as certainly, had no opportunity of ſhewing his bravery on this

[d] The general anſwer to what has been ſaid upon this ſubject, is, that all inquiry was prevented by the commodore's death. But, ſurely, this is a very poor excuſe. To an intelligent reader, it will appear, that, an effectual inquiry might have been more eaſily made after his death, than in the life of the commodore. His influence was then determined, he could not be hurt by the inquiry, all his creatures were at full liberty to ſpeak; and, as knowing the truth only was of importance to the public, in order to prevent ſuch deteſtable actions for the future, the burying all this villany as far as poſſible in oblivion, is inexcuſable to the nation.

this occaſion. In the main, however, they agree, that miſunderſtandings between the allies, proved the ruin of the whole affair; and that nothing could amaze, and at the ſame time overjoy people more, than the news of the *Engliſh* troops embarking for *Jamaica*, did M. *Ducaſſe* and his army. The ſame writers intimate, that the colony of *Jamaica* was much wanting to itſelf, in not laying hold of this opportunity to make a deſcent on the *French* ſettlements, in revenge for the miſchiefs done them by the inhabitants of this colony, under M. *Ducaſſe*, the year before, which, if they had done, in all probability the *French* muſt have been driven out of *Hiſpaniola*; and, as things then ſtood, there is no great reaſon to doubt the *Spaniards* would have been very well pleaſed to have ſeen an *Engliſh* colony ſettled in their room, as well knowing their own inability to preſerve the iſland without ſuch aſſiſtance [e].

But all ſuch views for the glory of *England*, were effectually defeated by the ſailing away of the *Engliſh* ſquadron from *Hiſpaniola* on the twenty-third of *July*, 1695, with all the land-forces on board. The governor and people of *Jamaica* gave the commodore a very indifferent reception, having had previous intelligence of his behaviour through the whole affair. Several councils of war were held, to conſider how practicable a ſecond attempt might be in conjunction with a conſiderable force from this iſland. But after much deliberation, this deſign alſo came to nothing. The commodore in the mean time followed his buſineſs cloſely; that is to ſay, he converted the plunder he had taken into money, which he veſted in all ſorts of merchandize fit for the *Engliſh* market, and took in the goods

[e] Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, tom iv. p. 63—75. Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iii. Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. tom. v. &c.

goods privately on the back of the iſland. When this was done, his next care was to get back to *England* with his ſquadron, with the great wealth he had amaſſed on board of it. He left *Jamaica* on the third of *September*, 1695, but met with a very bad paſſage. On the ſhoals of *Florida* he loſt a fourth rate man of war, in a manner which gave great cauſe to ſuſpect he never intended to bring her home [f]. After this an epidemic diſtemper broke out on board the ſhips, which carried off a multitude of ſailors and ſoldiers, and not a few officers, among whom was the commodore himſelf. This diſeaſe prevailed at laſt to ſuch a degree, that there was ſcarce found men enough to bring home the ſquadron, which did not arrive till very late in the year. I cannot help cloſing this account by obſerving, that commodore *Wilmot* left ſixteen thouſand pounds in effects on board his own ſhip, which engaged his family in a long ſuit with captain *Butler*. Such are the wretched effects of ſacrificing public concerns to the narrow views of private intereſt! [g]

TOWARDS

[f] One may ſee by colonel Lillingſton's whole book, how much more jealous men of honour are of their reputation, than ſtatesmen of a nation's glory. The colonel's account of this affair was printed but ſeven years after the thing happened, and yet no ſearch was made into the matter. His words are theſe.

"It would be a moſt diverting thing, abating for the diſaſter "of it, and the lives loſt in it, to hear a true particular of the "loſs of the Wincheſter man of war. If I am not miſinform-"ed, there would come to light a great many hidden circum-"ſtances, very uſeful to the nation in general, if the loſs of that "man of war were enquired into. If due examination were "made, whether all the ſtores and guns that were pretended to "be in her, were really on board her; and if the loſs of that "ſhip did not ſerve for a colour to pretend the loſs of many "things, which were otherwiſe diſpoſed of." Lillingſton's reflections, p. 130.

[g] Mr. Burchet confeſſes the epidemic ſickneſs

TOWARDS the latter end of the year 1696, the nation was again alarmed with the report of an invaſion. It was known that the *French* were fitting out a ſtrong ſquadron at *Breſt*; and for what ſervice, the intelligence our ſecretaries had, could not inform them. Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, therefore, was ſent with a conſiderable force to block them up, which however the *French* avoided; and it was then given out at home, that our vigilance had diſappointed the deſigns of the enemy, and obliged them to abandon all thoughts of a deſcent. In this we only deceived ourſelves, for our merchants quickly came at the knowledge of the true ſcheme, which was the ſending a ſtrong ſquadron into the *Weſt-Indies*, to attack ſome of the *Spaniſh* plantations in thoſe parts [h]. The *Sieur Pointis* was the

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ſickneſs on board the fleet; and colonel Lillingſton informs us, that the commodore's widow was actually involved in a law-ſuit with captain Butler, in 1704, for the plunder ſo baſely taken from the poor ſoldiers and ſailors, who acquired a juſt title to it by the ſweat of their brows, and the expence of their blood.

[h] In order to ſupport this fact, I ſhall give the reader a paſſage from the monthly Mercury for December, 1696. "The great "noiſe made about Pointis's ſquadron that was equipping at "Breſt, and which, as it was furniſhed with a vaſt number of "ſcaling ladders, bombs, pontons, and other materials for a de-"ſcent, and for the attack of places on ſhore, had given the "alarm to all the dominions of Great Britain, is at laſt over; "and thoſe that were moſt frighted, are now moſt inclined to "treat it with contempt; for whether it was, that Pointis "wanted a money-wind to carry him out of port, or, that his "project had not received the leaſt ſanction of the court, ſo it "was, that his Britannic majeſty had time enough to ſend ſir "Cloudeſley Shovel with a ſtrong ſquadron to inſpect this "fleet, which was reported to be ſtrong enough to attempt the "invaſion of his kingdoms; and on his looking into the port, "it appeared, there were but ſixteen men of war of all ſorts "there; ſo that, whatever the deſign of Pointis's ſquadron was, "it ſeems to be vaniſhed into ſmoke."

the perſon who formed the plan of this undertaking, and who had been no leſs than three years in bringing it to bear. The *French* king had ſuffered a great number of private perſons to contribute towards this enterprize, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances were given them, that whatever profits accrued thereby, ſhould be fairly divided amongſt them. Orders were privately ſent to M. *Ducaſſe*, in *Hiſpaniola*, to aſſemble as many *Buccaneers* as he could, with veſſels proper to ſupport them; and he was to have theſe ready to join M. *Pointis*'s ſquadron, as ſoon as it appeared. The true deſign all along was upon *Carthagena*; but ſuch as pretended to be in the ſecret at the *French* court, gave out, that the king intended this armament to execute a project, long ago formed by M. *Ducaſſe*, of driving the *Spaniards* entirely out of *Hiſpaniola*. But, notwithſtanding this variety of reports, ſome of king *James*'s adherents fancied that they had penetrated farther than any of theſe politicians, and that the true deſign of this myſterious armament, was againſt *Jamaica*; and of this, as *Engliſhmen*, they thought it their duty to adviſe our court[i]. At firſt this

[i] The political tracts of that year, beſt inform us what the ſentiments of the world were upon that occaſion; becauſe later writers are apt to impoſe upon us, by pretending, that this or that great miniſter had actually diſcovered the ſecret very early, though, for certain reaſons of ſtate, it was not publiſhed. Now it clearly appears from thoſe writings, that nothing of this kind happened; and it is as certain, from Pointis's journal, that he never had any other view, than that of attacking Carthagena, notwithſtanding ſo many other projects were talked of. The informations I ſpeak of from France, I know from unqueſtionable authority; for as the author of the Jewiſh letters rightly obſerves, the Engliſh refugees at St. Germain's, were quite a different ſort of people from the refugees in Soho; for they loved their country, though they were baniſhed from it; and like

this was conſidered as a very extraordinary piece of intelligence, which alarmed us the more, becauſe conſidering the force we had in that part of the world, if they had really attemped this iſland, there was but too great probability of their ſucceeding. When this matter, however, came to be deliberated upon in council, and ſeveral of the moſt intelligent perſons there ſeemed convinced that the blow was meant at us, king *William* declared himſelf of a contrary opinion, for a reaſon which ſhewed how well he underſtood mankind, and how juſtly the *French* king dreaded his capacity in the cloſet. His majeſty obſerved, that the baſis of the *French* king's new expedition was private intereſt, not public utility, or national glory; for which reaſon he concluded they would neither endeavour to conquer *Hiſpaniola*, nor attack *Jamaica*, but either attempt the taking the *Spaniſh* galleons, or the ſurprizing of *Carthagena*. The good ſenſe of this obſervation brought over every body to his opinion, and the ſequel will ſhew, that the Sieur *Pointis*, and the reſt of the *French* commanders (M. *Ducaſſe* always excepted) never conſidered in this expedition, what was beſt to be done, but how moſt might be got; in which piratical kind of knowledge they proved much greater proficients than the Buccaneers themſelves [k].

like the Greek Exiles of old, in the Perſian court, ſhew'd thoſe who were inured to ſlavery, how great a bleſſing it is to be born and bred up free.

[k] Biſhop Burnet in his hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 195. expreſſes a good deal of diſlike to the management of our affairs at ſea in this critical conjuncture; but, whoever conſiders the matter ſtrictly, will find all the reaſon in the world to commend the diſpoſition made by our court, for preventing the French from executing their deſign in the Weſt-Indies. We ought always to diſtinguiſh between the laying of a ſcheme, and the carrying it into execution;

To parry this blow, wherever it was intended, orders were given for a ſmall ſquadron to aſſemble at *Portſmouth*, under the command of Captain *Meeze*; and other orders were at the ſame time diſpatched to Mr. *Neville*, who commanded our fleet in the *Mediterranean*, and who was now made vice-admiral, which he was directed to open, when he had taken due care of the homeward-bound fleet, and ſhould be fifty leagues S. W. by W. from *Cadiz*. He found himſelf in this ſituation about the middle of the month of *February*, 1696-7, and then opening his inſtructions, perceived that he was to join Captain *Meeze*'s ſquadron at the iſland of *Madeiras*, where after cruizing a long time, he was met by the captain, now made a rear admiral, in his own ſhip the *Briſtol*, and the *Lightning* fire-ſhip having loſt company with the reſt of his ſquadron in a fog, a little after he left the *Iſle of Wight*. On the ſeventeenth of *April*, vice-admiral *Neville* arrived at *Barbadoes*, where he found moſt of the ſhips he expected, except the *Dutch*, who joining him ſoon after, they bore away for *Antigua*, where they arrived the third of *May*, 1697. There it was reſolved, in a council of war, to ſail for *Porto Rico*, in order to take as much care as poſſible of the *Spaniſh* galleons. Before he reached his intended port, he had intelligence, that M. *Pointis* was ſailed from *Hiſpaniola* on the twenty firſt of *March*, N. S. with twenty-ſix ſhips ſmall and

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execution; for the ſame praiſe is due to the contrivers of a good ſcheme, though it fails of its effect, as if it had met with the wiſh'd for ſucceſs. Here was a force ſuperior to the French, who had been three years providing theirs, aſſembled in leſs than three months: and if the orders given to our admirals, had been ſtrictly complied with, they had been as early in the Weſt-Indies, as the enemy, if they were not, it was no fault either of the council, or the board of admiralty,

and great. It was then reſolved in a council of war, to proceed forthwith to *Jamaica*, in order to take in a ſupply of water and proviſions [1].

ON the fifteenth of *May*, 1697, the admiral being off the eaſt end of the iſland met with a ſloop, the maſter whereof informed him, there was a flying report of the *French* ſquadrons being before *Carthagena*; upon this he ſtaid no longer than was abſolutely neceſſary to take in water, but ſailed from *Port-Royal*, and attempted to go out of the Leeward channel; but in that he was prevented by the dying away of the land breeze, and contrary to what had been ever known by all perſons acquainted in thoſe parts, the ſea breeze blew for ſix days and ſix nights together, during which time, an *Engliſh* ſloop came in, that left *Porto Bello* the eighteenth of this month, in company of the galleons, (which were fifteen in number) and two days after parted with them, ſteering away N. N. E. for *Jamaica*, where they intended to take in proviſions, for which they were ſo much ſtreightened, that they had not enough to carry them to the *Havanna*. The vice-admiral ſent out two ſloops to look for them, the one off the keys of *Point-Pedro*, and the other off thoſe of *Porto-Morant*; and to let their general know, that he was going to *Carthagena*, to ſee what could be done againſt the *French*, but that he would return to *Jamaica* in a ſhort time. The

[1] Mr. Burchet tells us, both in his memoirs and his hiſtory, that vice-admiral Neville cruized fifty eight days about the Madeiras, to which, if he thought himſelf bound by his inſtructions, he was certainly juſtified; but however, this certainly proved the ruin of the whole affair; for if he had ſtood away for Barbadoes, inſtead of cruizing there, he might have come time enough to have attacked the French before they left Hiſpaniola, or at leaſt he might have followed them to Carthagena,

twenty fourth of the ſame month he took advantage of a ſmall gale from ſhore, to ſteer for *Carthagena*, in hopes of finding the *French* either embarraſſed in the ſiege of the place, or in embarking the plunder; for according to the beſt accounts he could get, the *Spaniards* were very ſtrong there, and had been ſo lucky alſo as to have pretty early intelligence of the viſit that was deſigned them; but the croſs accidents that kept the vice-admiral ſo long on the coaſt of *Jamaica*, fruſtrated his good intentions, and hindered our re-taking from the *French* the beſt part of what they took from the *Spaniards*, which muſt otherwiſe certainly have happened [m].

IN order to give a diſtinct account of this extraordinary affair, which is ſomewhat partially related both by *Engliſh* and *French* writers, I muſt purſue the hiſtory of *Pointis*'s voyage, and ſhew how and when he executed the ſcheme he propoſed; for this will naturally bring us back to this very point of time when vice-admiral *Neville* ſailed in ſearch of him and his ſquadron. As the ſucceſs of *Pointis*'s expedition depended upon the aſſiſtance he was to receive at St. *Domingo*,

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na, where, if he had attacked their fleet, while their army was engaged in the ſiege, their whole force muſt have been totally deſtroyed.

[m] The admiral's going to Jamaica was another misfortune; for, as it will be hereafter ſhewn, if he had ſailed directly on the firſt Intelligence he had for Carthagena, he muſt have ſurprized M. Pointis, and deſtroyed his whole force. But, if according to the admiral's journal, he was under an abſolute neceſſity of taking in water; this is to be conſidered as an unavoidable misfortune. Theſe are points I leave to the reader's judgment to determine; for none of our accounts afford us ſufficient light to decide poſitively on the matters of fact, though this is certainly in the admiral's favour; that he was known to have as much perſonal courage, as any man; and that he afterwards ſhew'd as great an inclination to fight upon this occaſion, as any man ever did or indeed could do.

Domingo, he ſailed thither directly, and arrived on the coaſt *February* 19, 1697. The governor, M. *Ducaſſe*, had taken care to provide every thing purſuant to his inſtructions, ſo that the Sieur *Pointis* met with no retardment, but what proceeded from his own imperious diſpoſition, which hindered him from giving the *Buccaneers* the ſatisfaction they expected; and this produced a mutiny or two, which nothing could have quieted, but the preſence of M. *Ducaſſe*, who was actuated wholly by public ſpirit, and exerted his utmoſt intereſt among theſe people to keep them ſteady, at the ſame time he ſuffered as much as they did from the inſolence of the general, who, proud of his commiſſion, and full of himſelf, behaved without any regard either to the rank or circumſtances of others [n]. After about a fortnight's ſtay to forward neceſſary preparations, the whole fleet ſailed for *Carthagena*, and arrived before that city on the third of *April*. The force brought from *France* by M. *Pointis*, conſiſted of ſeven large ſhips of war, about ten frigates, and ſmall veſſels of ſeveral ſorts, on board which were two thouſand two hundred and ſixty ſeamen, and one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty ſoldiers, in all four thouſand and ten, to which M. *Ducaſſe* added another ſtout ſquadron, on board of which were fifteen hundred Buccaneers,

[n] In the whole of this relation, I reduce all the dates to the old ſtile, for the ſake of comparing them readily, which could not have been otherwiſe done. As to the facts, we have a vaſt variety of relations, though I think, but two of any great authority, viz Pointis's own memoirs, and the hiſtory of St. Domingo, written by father Charlevoix, on the memoirs of father Pers, and from the regiſters in the public offices in the marine in France, where I find theſe differ too widely to be reconciled, there, I prefer, without ceremony, the latter, becauſe 'tis evident, that Sieur Pointis had views to ſerve; whereas father Charlevoix writes without the leaſt bias. Occaſionally, I have recourſe to other authorities, which I refer to in their proper places.

ſoldiers and volunteers. They firſt attacked the ſtrong fort of *Boca Chica*, which was carried by aſſault; then they attacked *Neuſtra Signora de la Popa*, a monaſtery on a hill, which commands the place; they beſieged and took likewiſe the fort of St. *Lazarus*, and at length ſtormed the ſuburbs, which forced the governor to think of a capitulation, and this being granted him on pretty good terms, was concluded *April* 24, 1697, when the city was ſurrendered to the *French*, who loſt before it upwards of five hundred men; neither could it have been ever taken, but for the aſſiſtance of M. *Ducaſſe*, and the troops he commanded; though *Pointis* uſed them very ill through the whole affair; and after it was taken, actually ſhut them out of the city, putting off from time to time the diſtribution of the booty, and not allowing ſo much as a check on ſuch as received it o.

MANY diſputes have been raiſed as to the value of the plate, and other effects, taken by the ſieur *Pointis* in this place. Some have carried this ſo high as forty millions of livres, and others, amongſt whom is M. *Pointis* himſelf, reduce it to nine millions. There are ſeveral reaſons which have induced different writers to impoſe upon their readers in this particular p. All the *Spaniſh* authors who have mentioned this, ſay, they had ſent the nuns, together with one hundred and twenty mules, laden with gold and jewels

o This we find both in Pointis's memoirs, and in the hiſtory of St. Domingo. The general indeed pretends, the Buccaneers behaved ill; but the court of France, on the cloſeſt examination, thought otherwiſe, and therefore, ſo I think ought we. p Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 146. Memoires de Pontis, &c. Father Daniel, in his Journal Hiſtorique de Louis XIV p. 187, computes the riches brought home by Sieur Pointis, at ten millions; and this, as I take it, was the commonly received calculation at that time.

els, forty miles up into the country, before the *French* arrived; but then it is visibly their interest to abate, as much as possible, the credit of this expedition; and this, perhaps, is now become the *French* interest too. The sieur *Pointis*, and his partizans, had also cause sufficient to state this account as low as possible, because the lower they brought it, the less they had to account for; which was what they wanted. Our historians in those days were desirous of lessening the success of all *French* expeditions, and therefore, as we see in the celebrated work of bishop *Burnet*, that prelate affected to treat this as a miscarriage, by which the *French*, on the whole, could scarce be called gainers [q]. But a man who is solicitous only about truth, will make proper allowances on such occasions, and by comparing these different accounts together, will endeavour to acquire a just notion of a thing, with which for many reasons surely, both we and posterity have a right to be acquainted. After taking all imaginable pains to this purpose, I venture to assert M. *Pointis* carried home upwards of twenty million of livres; I believe I should not err in saying twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling [r]. But there is no need of lessening the profits,

[q] Bishop Burnet might possibly be deceived by the second accounts from France, which were all against Pointis; but, if he had enquired into what followed, and how much money was recovered when this business came to be narrowly sifted, he would have altered his opinion. The French do not suffer a few great officers to cheat their owners, and the public, by cooking up stories destitute of proof; their government is arbitrary, and therefore in cases like this, generally speaking, just.

[r] My calculation goes upon undeniable principles. The sieur Pointis gave the Buccaneers 40,000 crowns, or 120,000 livres, for their share, computing at the rate of one tenth from the first million, and a thirtieth from every other million; and this, by a very easy algebraick process, makes it

profits, to abate the glory of this expedition. The ſieur *Pointis* certainly behaved very ill through the whole affair; he diſguſted the Buccaneers; he treated M. *Ducaſſe* exceſſively ill during the whole ſiege; he made an unfair diſtribution of the effects taken; he took no ſort of care of the ſick and wounded, but left them in the hoſpitals, not only without medicines, but food; and to compleat his blunders, he loitered till the twenty firſt of *May*, and did not embark his men till the ſickly ſeaſon came on, and they could ſcarce crawl to their ſhips. The Buccaneers were ſo irritated by the behaviour of *Pointis*, and his breaking the agreement he made with them to force upon them a dividend of 40,000 crowns, that, as ſoon as they ſaw him and his ſquadron ready to ſail, they returned back to *Carthagena*, in order, as they phraſed it, to look for their ſhare of the plunder, which they did not fail of finding[s].

It is very evident from this account, that if our vice-admiral, on his having the firſt information of the enemy's being ſailed for *Carthagena*, which was on the fifteenth of *May*, had ſailed thither inſtead of going to *Jamaica*, he had unqueſtionably ſurprized the *French* in the harbour of that place; and, as the *Spaniards* had actually aſſembled an army to retake the city, it is not eaſy to gueſs how the *French* would have eſcaped, who were by that time ſplit into factions among themſelves, and at leaſt one half of them fallen ſick[t]. But though he miſſed them then, yet on

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it clear he eſtimated the whole booty at 9,000,000. But when M. Pointis's behaviour came to be ſcrutinized in France, they had a decree for 1,400,000 livres more. [s] Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 157. The Buccaneers undoubtedly carried away 5,000,000 livres, though not above 1,500,000 came to St. Domingo. [t] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 553. See alſo the memoirs of Sir George Rooke.

on the twenty ſeventh of *May*, 1697, being half ſeas over from *Jamaica*, he ſaw the Sieur *de Pointis*'s ſquadron conſiſting of ſeven men of war, and two or three frigates, at no great diſtance; upon which he endeavoured to engage them, but could not. The *Warwick* indeed exchanged ſome ſhot with one of the *Frenchmen*, but in ſpite of all the ſail ſhe could make, the ſhip got away from her, as the reſt did from the admiral. The *Warwick* perceiving this, bore down on a fly-boat belonging to the *French* fleet, and took her, having on board a vaſt quantity of arms and ammunition, with as much plate as made the prize worth two hundred thouſand pounds, and is a pretty good ſample of what mighty treaſures were on board the reſt [u]. Five days the vice-admiral continued the purſuit, in which five ſhips, amongſt which his own and rear-admiral *Meeze*'s were included, ſprung their fore-top-maſts, and their ſails were ſo torn, that it was found impoſſible to continue the chace with any hopes of ſucceſs [w]. This again was a narrow eſcape; the *French* themſelves own it, they were much inferior in force, they were ill manned, moſt of their ſhips were foul; and if they had fought, many of them muſt have been taken without doubt. I ſee no manner of cauſe to cenſure the vice-admiral's conduct on this occaſion (as ſome have done) becauſe it was beyond queſtion his own and his officers intereſts, to have fought upon the preſumption that their own ſuperior force would have put them in poſſeſſion of all the plunder the *French* had obtained. Beſides, they all gave ſufficient proofs afterwards, that fighting was what they did not deſire to avoid.

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[u] Mr. Lediard ſeems to queſtion whether the author of the Britiſh empire in America, had not ſet down 200,000 for 20,000; but upon examination, I find 200,000 in the original accounts.

[w] Burchet's memoirs, p. 361.

I am therefore ſatisfied as to this point, that there was nothing of treachery or neglect of duty in this buſineſs, but that *Pointis*'s ſquadron eſcaped by a concurrence (with reſpect to us) of unlucky and unavoidable accidents; unleſs there might be ſome fault in thoſe who furniſhed our ſails, which did not wear ſo well as thoſe of the *French*, for which however the ſea-officers were not to blame [x].

THE Buccaneers, on their return to *Carthagena*, met with no reſiſtance, and therefore having driven the inhabitants into the great church, they told them how general *Pointis* had treated them, which, as they alledged, obliged them, though againſt their will, to come back to make a demand of five millions, which once paid them, they promiſed to retire without doing any kind of violence. The poor *Spaniards* did their utmoſt to rake together this ſum, but it was all in vain. The *French* took what they brought, and as ſoon as they had done bringing, theſe miſcreants had recourſe to ſuch cruelties, as are ſcarce credible, to force diſcoveries. After all, in the ſpace of about five days, they amaſſed near 1,000,000 crowns in money, and more than as much in rich goods; after which they fell out amongſt themſelves as to the diviſion of it, the Buccaneers refuſing the inhabitants of St. *Domingo* an equal ſhare, becauſe, as they ſaid, they were at great expence on that iſland before they ſailed, when the inhabitants were at home in their own houſes. This diſpute, however, was ſoon adjuſted on the arrival of a ſhip from St. *Martinico*, with advice, that a ſtrong *Engliſh* ſquadron was in queſt of them: they inſtantly quitted the place, embarked their plunder with

[x] Mr. Burchet acknowledges this, and ſo it appears on the ſtricteſt inquiry; though this does not ſeem to have ſatisfied biſhop Burnet.

with all imaginable diligence, and contrived to get to ſea as ſoon as poſſible, and retire to St. *Domingo* y.

WHEN our ſquadron found it impracticable to engage the *French*, the vice-admiral thought it expedient to proceed to *Carthagena*, in order to ſee if the galleons were ſafe, and how far he could be uſeful to the *Spaniards*. He arrived in the port in the evening of the thirty firſt of *May* and found the place quite abandoned; for the inhabitants were ſo much afraid of the Buccaneers returning a third time, that they were fled into the woods. Two days the vice-admiral remained in the port before he prevailed upon the governor, and ſome of the principal inhabitants, to return, and then ſailed, after ſending a frigate to St. *Jago*, to inform the governor of the *Havanna*, and the general of the gallies, of what had paſſed, that they might the better provide for the ſafety of the galleons. On the ſixth, he diſcovered eight ſail of Buccaneers, cloſe under the ſhore; upon which a detachment was ſent to deſtroy them. The enemy crowded all the ſail they could, in hopes of eſcaping, but only four were ſo luckily as to effect it. One was forced upon the *Spaniſh* coaſt, not far from *Carthagena*, her crew taken by the inhabitants, and compelled to work in the repair of their fortifications. Another was forced on ſhore on St. *Domingo*, and beat to pieces. The *Chriſt*, a fine ſhip, commanded by captain *Coſby*, who had two hundred and fifty men on board, and about 350,000 crowns in ſilver, was taken by a *Dutch* ſhip, as was the *Flying Hart* of the ſame force and value, commanded by captain *Pierce*, by captain *Dilkes*, and her crew were brought into *England* z.

THE

y Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 161. z Burchet, Lediard, Columna Roſtrata, &c.

THE governor of *Jamaica* at that time was Sir *William Beeſton*, who conſidering that the fleet muſt ſoon be obliged to return home, reſolved to ſuggeſt the deſtruction of that neſt of pirates, *Petit-Guavas*, to the vice-admiral, as the moſt important ſervice, that as things were circumſtanced, could be done to the *Engliſh* colonies in general, and *Jamaica* in particular. Vice admiral *Neville* inſtantly complied with it, and left the execution of the ſcheme to rear-admiral *Meeze*, who was detached from the fleet *June* 22, 1697, for this very purpoſe, with nine ſhips of war, great and ſmall. On the twenty ſeventh he arrived at a ſmall diſtance from *Petit-Guavas*, and debarked ſome of his forces, ordering the ſhips to come in next day. On the twenty ninth he ſurprized *Petit Guavas*, entering the place before it was light, and ſeizing the guard. He had, at firſt, thoughts of remaining there ſome ſhort time; but the ſeamen, and at laſt through their example the landmen, began to plunder and drink ſo hard, that when the rear-admiral altered his ſentiments, and reſolved to burn it, there was not above fifty ſober men under his command, out of nine hundred. When he gave out this order, the whole was executed with ſuch precipitation, that notwithſtanding there was abundance of gold and ſilver in the place, yet very little was ſaved, or brought away. However, the burning the town, and carrying off priſoners a good number of negroes to *Jamaica*, was a great and ſeaſonable ſervice to the *Engliſh* colonies, and gave the enemy a remarkable check, which they did not ſoon recover, to ſay the truth it was one of the greateſt ſervices done during the war.

VICH-

[a] Burchet's memoirs, p. 369, Kennet, life of king William, &c.

VICE-ADMIRAL *Neville* having wooded and watered with all the diligence imaginable, ſailed to meet rear-admiral *Meeze*, and then bringing away the homeward-bound ſhips from *Jamaica*, reſolved to proceed to the *Havanna*, in order to preſerve the galleons. He ſailed in the beginning of *July*, and coming about the middle of that month on the coaſt of *Cuba*, the ſeamen became exceſſively ſickly, and rear-admiral *Meeze* died before they reached the *Havanna*. On the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month he arrived before that port, and ſent in advice to the governor of his want of water and other refreſhments. The governor ſent him a civil meſſage, but refuſed to admit his ſquadron, and did not even ſupply his wants, or at leaſt not in all reſpects. As for the general of the galleons, when he was informed that the vice-admiral came on purpoſe to convoy that rich fleet home, which was the principal point in king *William*'s inſtructions, yet far from being ſatisfied with theſe unuſual acts of kindneſs to allies, he excuſed himſelf from putting his ſhips under our protection, ſuppoſing, or at leaſt pretending, his orders would not warrant it. The true reaſon, however, both of his and of the governor's conduct, might probably be, their fear of having the place of the greateſt conſequence in the *Weſt-Indies*, and the richeſt fleet of that age; for there were fifty millions on board the galleons, taken at once, ſince both had been in the vice-admiral's power, if he had once been admitted into the haven [b].

THIS kind of treatment, after the pains he had taken to ſave the galleons, and to ſerve the crown of *Spain* on every occaſion, broke the vice-admiral's ſpirits very much.

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[b] See the preſent State of Europe, for the month of September, 1697. Burnet, Kennet, &c.

He had always counted upon eſcorting the galleons, and believed ſo acceptable a ſervice would entirely efface the memory of former misfortunes; but being diſappointed again, and reflecting on the little ſervice that with ſo ſtrong a ſquadron he had been able to do his country, it threw him into a kind of hectic fever, which hung upon him till he arrived at *Virginia*, on the twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt*, and then he died, as much of grief, as of his diſtemper, to the great regret of all who knew him, as he was a perſon of courage, prudence, and integrity; who wanted not either will or abilities to do his country ſervice, though his fortune fell ſhort of his zeal [c]. By his demiſe the command of the ſquadron devolved upon captain *Robert Dilkes*, who, from *Virginia*, arrived ſafely in *England* on the twenty-fourth of *October*, 1697, with the whole ſquadron, though poorly manned, and the ſhips many of them foul and rotten; ſo that notwithſtanding the great hopes that had been entertained of our doing mighty things in the *Weſt Indies*, all came to nothing; for beſides this, we met with other diſappointments in that quarter of the world, that were no leſs mortifying than thoſe we have mentioned.

THE ſieur *Pointis* thought himſelf ſafe when he arrived off *Newfoundland*, as not having the leaſt knowledge that we had a ſtout ſquadron there, under the command of the late ſir *John* (then captain) *Norris*, ſo that he made no difficulty of going into the bay of *Conception*, and of lying there careleſly enough, though we had a force ſufficient at St. *John*'s to have given a good account of him, and his *Spaniſh* plunder. It was on the twenty-third of *July* our ſquadron had advice, that five *French* ſhips were ſeen in *Con-*

[c] I have this character from ſome who knew him well, and who ſerved under him in this very expedition.

Conception-bay, and they immediately concluded it was M. *Neſmond*'s ſquadron come to attack them; and therefore, inſtead of going to look for the enemy, they wiſely conſidered how in caſe they fell upon St. *John*'s, they ſhould be beſt able to defend themſelves, and bent all their endeavours that way [d].

CAPTAIN *Norris* was from the beginning a little ſuſpicious that this was not the outward-bound *French* ſquadron, and therefore ſent the *Mary* galley, a clean tight ſhip, to diſcover what they were. But before they could have any news from her, he received a letter from one Mr. *Alexander Cumberbatch*, maſter of a ſhip taken by the *French* at ſea, and put on ſhore in *Newfoundland*, in order to procure freſh proviſions. In this letter there was a diſtinct account of M. *Pointis*'s ſtrength, and of his ſquadron's having on board the rich plunder of *Carthagena*. Captain *Norris* was raviſhed with this epiſtle, called a council of war immediately, and preſſed that no farther time might be loſt, but that without more ado they might ſail in queſt of the enemy. Other people, however, were in no ſuch haſte, they doubted whether *Cumberbatch*'s letter might not be intended to draw them out of their ſtrength, and thereby expoſe St. *John*'s, and the whole country, to the *French*; and therefore, after a long debate, it was reſolved, in the council of war, to remain where they were, and to expect the *French* in cloſe quarters, without running unneceſſary hazards [e].

ABOUT

[d] Burchet's memoirs, p. 375. [e] The reflections of biſhop Burnet on this buſineſs, are very well worth notice. "Commodore Norris's ſquadron, ſays he, might have fallen upon "the French, and would probably have maſtered them; but "as they had no certain account of their ſtrength, ſo, being "ſent

ABOUT noon, on the twenty-ſixth, they received advice, that the five *French* ſhips were ſeen the night before at anchor a little eaſtward of *Bell-Iſle*, by *Portugal-Cove*, and the next day, upon a meſſage from colonel *Gibſon*, there was another conſultation, where this intelligence was read; but it was reſolved to remain till the two captains arrived, who were ſent to make a diſcovery. Soon after one of them came with twenty-one *Frenchmen*, that he had taken in a boat at *Carboniere*, who ſaid they were ſent by

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" ſent out on another ſervice, they did not think it proper to " hazard the attacking them; ſo the French got ſafe home, " and the conduct of our affairs at ſea was much cenſured."— In Burchet's memoirs, p. 378. and in his hiſtory, the blame is thrown intirely on the land-officers, who out-voted the ſea-officers in the council of war.——The whole is ſtrangely ſkimmed over in our Gazette, No. 3319, as a thing not fit to be mentioned.——

I have with ſome difficulty recovered the minutes of this famous council of war, and as I believe a liſt of the names of thoſe who ſat in it, and their votes, cannot but be agreeable to the reader, I ſhall tranſcribe them.

A council of war at St. John's, July 24th, 1697, at which were preſent.

LAND-OFFICERS.

John Gibſon —— No.
Thomas Dore —— No.
Thomas Handaſyde —— No.
Cliff. Brexton —— No.
Griff. May —— No.
Hugh Boyd —— No.
Y. Smith —— No.
Rob. Dazyell —— No.
H. Petit —— No.
George Watkins —— No.
Joſ. Hargrave. —— No.

ELEVEN. No's all.

SEA-

by M. *Pointis* to procure freſh proviſions. The other captain returned alſo from *Portugal-Cove*, who ſaw the *French* ſhips at anchor, one of them of three decks, two from ſixty to ſeventy guns, and two more of above fifty. The council adjourned till the next morning, and then calling the priſoners before them, they related all they knew, fearing that otherwiſe they ſhould be very ill treated. They ſaid the ſquadron had not been at any other port ſince they left the *Weſt-Indies*, and that hearing of an *Engliſh* ſquadron in thoſe parts, they had appointed *Placentia*, in *Newfoundland*, for the place of rendezvous; but through the hazy-

SEA-OFFICERS.

Francis Dove	Yea.
Robert Stapilton	Yea.
James Littleton	No.
Charles Deſborow	Yea.
Cooper Wade	Yea.
John Roffey	No.
James Mighells	Yea.
Thomas Day	Yea.
John Cranby	Yea.
John Drake	No.
Nicholas Trevannion	No.
John Norris	Yea.
Thomas Smith	No.

THIRTEEN. Yea's 8. No's 5.

This whole buſineſs was, in an enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, examined in the houſe of lords; when upon a full view of the evidence, their lordſhips came to the following reſolutions.

Die Lunæ, 17 April, 1699.

1. It is reſolved by the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, that the ſquadron commanded by captain Norris, at St. John's, in Newfoundland, not going out to fight Pointis, upon the ſeveral intelligences given, was a very high miſcarriage, to the great diſſervice of the king and kingdom.

2. It is reſolved, that the joining the land-officers in the council of war, on the 24th of July, 1697, was one occaſion of the miſcarriage in not fighting Pointis.

neſs of the weather, were obliged to drop anchor in *Conception*-bay. But notwithſtanding all this and other corroborative evidence, to prove that this was in reality M. *Pointis*'s ſquadron, the council of war ſtill over-ruled captain *Norris*, who was eager for fighting, and obliged him to remain in the harbour of St. *John*'s, which they fortified with ſuch induſtry, that when Mr. *Neſmond* arrived, which was about two and thirty days after the other ſquadron had been firſt ſeen, the place was in ſo good a ſtate of defence, that though the *French* ſquadron conſiſted of ſixteen ſail, of which ten were of the line of battle, yet they were ſo well ſatisfied with the ſight of the preparations made for their reception, that they thought proper to retire without ſo much as firing a gun, and thereby left all *Newfoundland* in our poſſeſſion, which was confirmed by the enſuing peace [f].

M. *Pointis*, however, though he got ſo happily clear of this affair, met with another, which gave him more trouble; for on the fourteenth of *Auguſt*, 1697, he fell in with a ſquadron commanded by captain *Harlow*, whom he boldly engaged about three in the afternoon. After a brisk diſpute of two hours, the *French* made a ſignal for tacking, when one of their ſhips being diſabled, eſcaped with much difficulty, and put the reſt into ſome confuſion. They bore away as faſt as poſſible, and by ten at night the *Engliſh* ſquadron loſt ſight of them. The fifteenth being a clear day, the enemy was diſcovered by four in the morning at the diſtance of four leagues; upon which captain *Harlow* continued the chaſe till evening, but with very little advantage, our ſhips being fouler than theirs, though they

[f] Burchet's memoirs, p. 381. Preſent ſtate of Europe, for October, 1697. Life of king William; Hiſtory of the laſt war.

they were returned from ſo long a voyage. The next day they got clear away, and the day following entered the harbour of *Breſt*, having as happily and as ſtrangely eſcaped variety of dangers as any ſquadron that ever went to ſea [g]. It is not eaſy to account for M. *Pointis*'s bearing down upon captain *Harlow*'s ſquadron; nor can one readily apprehend, how the *Engliſh* ſhips, juſt come out of port, came to ſail ſo much worſe than the *French*. Some myſtery there was in this, which was never revealed to the public, though in all probability ſomething might be diſcovered to the lords of the *Admiralty*, which it was not proper ſhould come abroad [h]. Thus we have run through the hiſtory of what paſſed in the *Weſt-Indies* during this war, and are now returned to the naval tranſactions in *Europe*, in the year 1697, where we ſhall find not many extraordinary actions to detain us.

His majeſty going in the ſpring of the year to *Holland*, he was pleaſed to declare *Edward Ruſſel*, Eſq; then at the head of the *Admiralty*, one of the lords juſtices in his abſence; and ſoon after it was known, that his majeſty had

[g] M. Pointis confeſſes this in his memoirs. A Dutch gazetteer ſays pleaſantly, ill luck put on leaden boots to purſue him. See captain Harlow's own account in the London gazette, No. 3317. [h] I ground what I advance in the text, on the following advertiſement, which appeared firſt, Thurſday, Sept. 23, 1697, London gazette, No. 3325.

"Admiralty office, Sept. 21. Whereas, the right hon. the "lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, did receive a letter by "the poſt, ſigned A. B. which contains ſeveral things relating "to the late action of captain Harlow: theſe are to give no- "tice, that if the perſon who writ the ſaid letter, will apply "himſelf to one of the ſecretaries of the admiralty, his name "ſhall not be made known, without his own conſent, and he "ſhall likewiſe be rewarded, and preferred by their lordſhips.

"William Bridgeman."

created him baron of *Shingey*, viſcount *Barfleur*, and earl of *Orford*. Theſe honours ſeemed not only fit, but neceſſary, ſince his lordſhip, as biſhop *Burnet* well obſerves, had the whole authority of high admiral, though not the title [i]. His preſence therefore being requiſite at the board, ſir *George Rooke* was declared admiral of the fleet, and actually went down, in the beginning of *June*, to *Portſmouth*, in order to take upon him the command of it. On his arrival, however, he found things but in a very indifferent condition: for though the ſhips made a handſome figure enough in the liſt at the *Admiralty*, yet they were in fact not half manned, and worſe victualled; ſo that if a *Dutch* ſquadron had not happily joined them, it is on all hands agreed, they could not have put to ſea. But by the latter end of the month, the admiral being joined by two ſquadrons which had been under the command of vice-admiral *Mitchel*, and rear-admiral *Benbow*, he found his ſtrength encreaſed to forty-four ſail of the line, and therefore he put to ſea for ſome time, but was obliged to return ſooner than he intended, for want of proviſions. In the month of *September* he detached vice-admiral *Mitchel* with a ſquadron to meet and ſuſtain vice-admiral *Neville*, who was expected home with the galleons from the *Weſt-Indies*; but before he reached the cape of St. *Vincent*, he had notice of the return of that ſquadron, and did not therefore think proper to continue any longer at ſea [k]. He was afterwards ordered out again in *October*, when he performed nothing worthy of remark, except the bringing in fifteen *Dutch Eaſt-India* ſhips, which had loſt moſt of their anchors and cables, and muſt otherwiſe have been in great danger of periſhing

[i] Burchet, Kennet, Burnet, Pointer, Oldmixon, &c. [k] Burchet's memoirs, p. 392.

periſhing themſelves. Soon after he received the king's orders to bring over the *Czar* from *Holland*, which he did, and was ſo acceptable to that great prince, that, with the king's leave, he attended him during the whole time he ſtaid in *England*, and had the honour alſo to command the ſquadron which eſcorted him on his return to *Holland*, in his way back to his own dominions. His behaviour towards that monarch was ſuch as gave him entire ſatisfaction, ſo that he retained a grateful remembrance of it many years after, when he came a ſecond time into *Holland*, by taking notice of many points in naval diſcipline, in which he was inſtructed by admiral *Mitchel*[l].

REAR-ADMIRAL *Benbow* ſailed from *Spithead* on the eleventh of *April*, 1697, with a ſquadron conſiſting of ſeven third rates, and two fire-ſhips[m], and inſtructions to protect the trade of this nation in every inſtance in his power, and to annoy the enemy. With this view he was ſtationed from ten to fourſcore leagues from *Scilly*, but was

[l] Life of Peter the Great, p 394.

[m] London Gazette, No. 3279. Mr. Burchet ſays, April 10, but I prefer the authority of the Gazette, in which I find an article that deſerves a place here, and therefore I ſhall tranſcribe it. "Newcaſtle, "April 10, Yeſterday morning came to our bar, eight colliers "from London; one of them belonging to this town, Charles "Newton, maſter, laden with merchants goods, and carrying "twelve guns, was, in her voyage here, attacked by a French "privateer of fourteen guns, and four patteraroes; captain "Newton made a vigorous defence, and another of the mer-"chant-ſhips coming to his aſſiſtance, they boarded the ſaid pri-"vateer, took her, and have brought her into this harbour: "of the French, twenty-three were killed in the fight, and the "reſt, ſixty-ſix in number, are brought aſhore, ſeveral of "which are wounded, and the captain ſo dangerouſly, that "'tis thought he will hardly recover. There was another "privateer in his company, who, ſeeing his companion come "off ſo ill, fell a-ſtern, and ſtood off to ſea."

able to perform nothing remarkable during the beſt part of the month of *May*, though he was joined by five ſhips of war more, and therefore he returned to St. *Helen*'s about the twenty-firſt of that month, from whence he ſailed again on the twenty-fourth, with four third rates and two fire-ſhips, for his former ſtation; and after having ſeen two *Eaſt-India* ſhips pretty far out to ſea, he received ſuch intelligence as to our homeward-bound *Jamaica* ſhips, as induced him to repair to *Plymouth*; in doing which, he had the good fortune to join the *Virginia* and *Weſt-India* fleets, and their particular convoys, off the *Lizard*; and ſoon after meeting vice-admiral *Mitchel* off the *Start*, he was by him directed to repair to *Plymouth*, with the merchant-ſhips, where he received orders from ſir *George Rooke*, to repair to the fleet then paſſing weſtward, and to take care for ſending eaſtward a convoy with the trade. But theſe orders were contradicted by others from the lords of the *Admiralty*, dated the tenth of *July*, and he, in obedience to them, proceeded to the ſquadron before *Dunkirk*, which captain *Beaumont* had commanded a conſiderable time before, conſiſting of ſix third rates, beſides the *Newark*, two fourth, one fifth, and two fire-ſhips; but three of thoſe third rates were ordered away to the *Downs* by the lords of the *Admiralty* [n].

THE rear-admiral, as ſoon as he arrived with his ſquadron, went in perſon, with his boat, before the pier-heads of *Dunkirk*; where, though he diſcovered not one veſſel in the road, yet he ſaw fifteen or ſixteen ſail of great ſhips within, one of which bore a flag. With captain *Beaumont* he found two orders from the lords of the *Admiralty*, the firſt directing him to purſue and burn *du Bart*'s ſhips, wherever

[n] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 569, 570.

wherever he could find them, except under the protection of the forts in *Norway* or *Sweden*; the other, to obey any orders he might receive from his majesty, who was then in *Holland*. On the thirtieth of *July* rear-admiral *Vandergoes* joined him, with eleven *Dutch* ships, and it was proposed, that one of the squadrons should lie so as that *Dunkirk* might be south of them; and the other in or near *Ostend* road, that, if *du Bart* should attempt to pass out, either at the north or east channel, they might the better discover him: but no other answer was made by the *Dutch* flag, than that his ships were foul, and not in a condition to pursue him.

THE *French* ships at *Dunkirk* were in all eleven, from fifty to twenty-six guns; and about the beginning of *August* they were all, except M. *du Bart*'s own ship, hawled into the bason to clean, so that it was judged they were making ready to come out the next spring-tide. But since our ships, as well as the *Dutch*, were all foul, little service could be expected from their chasing; and it was almost next to an impossibility, to block up clean ships at *Dunkirk* with foul ones. Wherefore the rear-admiral proposed, that four of his best sailers might be ordered to *Sheerness* to clean, and that the others might come to the *Downs*, not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but to heel and scrub; and this he judged might be done before the approaching spring could afford the *French* an opportunity of getting over the bar. But at this time it was not thought adviseable, though afterwards he received orders to do it: so that for the present he only sent the ships from time to time to the *Downs* to water, as they could best be spared. It is evident enough from this large account of the matter, that our disappointments were frequently

quently owing to the want of proper orders, and the not paying a due attention to ſuch pieces of advice as the commanders of ſquadrons thought themſelves in duty obliged to offer. On the twenty-third of *Auguſt*, *du Bart* left *Dunkirk* with five ſail, having the prince of *Conti* on board, whom the *French* attempted to make king of *Poland*. The rear-admiral purſued him, but to no manner of purpoſe; and before he returned to his ſtation, eight other ſhips were gone, which he purſued likewiſe, but with the ſame want of ſucceſs: and this was the laſt action of the war, for on the tenth of *September* following, peace was concluded between *England*, *Spain*, and *Holland*, on the one ſide, and the crown of *France* on the other, at *Ryſwick*, by which the *French* king acknowledged king *William*'s title, and, as the *French* hiſtorians ſay, gave up more towns than the confederates could have taken in twenty years; but this was not from any principle either of juſtice or moderation, but with views of quite another ſort, as was foreſeen then, and in the ſpace of a few years appeared [o].

We have now brought this long war to a concluſion, and it is but juſt that we ſhould offer the reader ſome reflections on the conſequences of it, to the naval power and commerce of *England*. Firſt then, with reſpect to our navy, we have ſeen that the war opened with a very bad proſpect; for though we had an excellent fleet, a vaſt number of able ſeamen, and, perhaps, as good officers as any in the world, yet the *French* got earlier to ſea than we did, appeared with a greater force, and managed it better, though we acted then in conjunction with *Holland*, and according to the general rule of political reaſoning ought

[o] Burchet, Burnet, Preſent State of Europe, Life of king William, Pointer's chronological hiſtory, &c.

ought to have had it in our power to have driven the *French* out of the ſea. All this proceeded from the ſudden change in our government, which, perhaps, left many of our officers diſaffected, and many more without having any proper degree of credit at court. Want of confidence between the adminiſtration and the commanders of our fleets, is always deſtructive to our maritime power, and therefore inſtead of wondering that things went ſo ill in the three firſt years of the war, we may with more juſtice be ſurprized, that they went no worſe. Our party-diviſions not only enervated our own ſtrength, but created ſuch jealouſies between us and the *Dutch*, as blaſted the fruits that muſt have been otherwiſe produced by this union of the maritime powers. Of this we have the fulleſt proof in the caſe of the earl of *Torrington*, whom even the enemies of the government made it a point to ſupport, becauſe they knew that preſerving him muſt give diſtaſte to our allies, and who, on the other hand, was proſecuted by many who believed him innocent [P].

But when once the government was thoroughly ſettled, and we acted cordially in conjunction with the *States*, it ſoon became evident, that we were much more than a match for *France* at ſea. Our misfortunes at the beginning of the war created enquiries and cenſures, which were, and always will be, followed with victories; for when offi-

cers

[P] The reader will eaſily diſcern the force of this argument, if he conſiders the ſhare the earl of Torrington had in the revolution, and the warmth with which, on his proſecution, he was ſupported by thoſe who were leaſt pleaſed with that event. This ſhews the effects of party-ſpirit, upon national affairs; for though it might be right in them to eſpouſe the earl of Torrington, who probably acted according to the beſt of his judgment, yet they did it apparently from wrong motives, and with no better intention, than to mortify and diſtreſs the court.

cers find themſelves in danger for acting ill, they will endeavour to eſcape it by doing well; whereas, if they once find that they may prefer private profit, to that duty which they owe the public, with impunity, they will not fail to run into that broad road. This accounts for our ſucceſs in the middle of the war, and the declenſion of it afterwards; when the board of *Admiralty* began to feel its own ſtrength, and the management of naval affairs was reduced to a court-ſyſtem, by which ſuch men were ſure of protection, as could be depended on in other reſpects than their commands in the fleet [q].

But notwithſtanding theſe, and ſome other miſcarriages, no leſs prejudicial to the intereſt of the nation, yet, on the whole, the *French* ſuffered much more in their maritime powers than we, as Mr. *Burchet* has ſhewn us; and conſequently, if we conſider the ſituation of both nations, the caſe with which it was in our power to repair our loſſes, and the almoſt inſuperable difficulties the *French* had

[q] It may poſſibly be thought, that I differ in my ſentiments here, from what I have ſaid elſewhere, as to enquiries, and therefore I take this opportunity of ſaying, that I would be underſtood ſo as to diſtinguiſh between proper enquiries, and peeviſh enquiries. I call proper enquiries, ſuch as begin with things, and end with men: and I take ſuch to be peeviſh, as preſume things to be wrong, becauſe they were done by this or that ſet of men. In this reign, we had frequent examples of both: enquiries were ſet on foot in parliament, and when they did not anſwer the intentions of a party, they were dropt. This, certainly, was very ſcandalous. On the other hand, commodore Wilmot's diſgraceful expedition, and ſeveral others of the ſame kind, were paſſed over without any enquiry at all. This, undoubtedly, was very ſuſpicious dealing in the admiralty: who ought to have vindicated their own uprightneſs, by juſtifying the characters of ſuch as they employed, which appears to be the judgment of biſhop Burnet himſelf; who, though he loved the miniſters, yet could not help ſeeing their faults.

had to ſtruggle with in this reſpect, we muſt conclude, that not only they, but the whole world, had full evidence from thence, of their being no way able to ſtruggle againſt the *Dutch* and us in a maritime war. To make this ſtill more apparent, I muſt obſerve, that king *William*, in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, at the concluſion of the war, aſſerted our naval force to be near double what it was at his acceſſion [r]. Whereas, I do not find in any of the *French* hiſtorians, that they attempted to build new ſhips during the progreſs of the war, or to do any thing more than finiſh ſuch as were then upon the ſtocks, purchaſing, as occaſion required, large merchant-men, which they converted into frigates. In this light, therefore, we were gainers by the war, of which the *French* ſeemed to be very ſenſible, ſince they avoided all general engagements [s], and in

[r] See his majeſty's ſpeech, Dec. 3, 1697, in Chandler's parliamentary debates. Upon carefully comparing the liſts of the royal navy, this very clearly appears.

[s] An account of the loſs ſuſtained by the French in their navy, during the war, from the year 1688, to 1697.

No. of ſhips.		Force.	Total of guns.
2	of	104 guns.	208
1	of	90	90
2	of	80	160
3	of	76	228
1	of	74	74
1	of	70	70
1	of	68	68
2	of	60	120
4	of	56	224
1	of	50	50
1	of	48	48
1	of	42	42
1	of	40	40
21			1422

Carried over

in particular actions between ſmall ſquadrons or ſingle ſhips, the ſtrictneſs of their diſcipline gave them great advantages, ſince their veſſels, generally ſpeaking, were much cleaner than ours, and conſequently were able to leave us, whenever they found themſelves too hard preſſed; of which ſeveral inſtances have been given in the foregoing ſheets. At the ſame time, however, it muſt be confeſſed, that the *French* fleets, generally ſpeaking, behaved very well at ſea, and that we ſuffered conſiderably even in thoſe actions where we were victorious, as well as where our ſhips were taken by ſurprize, or beaten as convoys, by a ſuperior force [t].

BUT

Bt. over 21			1422
5	of	32	160
5	of	30	150
5	of	28	140
1	of	26	26
2	of	24	72
3	of	20	60
6	of	18	108
1	of	16	16
2	of	12	24
6	of	10	60
1	of	6	6
Total 59			Total 2,244

[t] The loſs ſuſtained by the Engliſh in their navy, during the war, from the year 1688, to 1697.

No. of ſhips.		Force.	Total of guns.
1	of	70 guns.	70
1	of	54	54
2	of	48	96
1	of	46	46
3	of	42	126
3	of	36	108
6	of	32	192
17			692

Carried over

BUT with reſpect to our trade, it is certain, that we ſuffered infinitely more, not only than the *French*, (for that muſt have been expected) but than ever we did in any former war, where there was a nearer balance between our trade and that of the enemy. This proceeded in a great meaſure from the vigilance of the *French*, who, as we have already ſhewn, made it their choice, nay, their great monarch made it his glory, to carry on the war in a piratical way, on purpoſe to diſtreſs our merchants, and excite a loud clamour here for a peace. Another reaſon why our commerce ſuffered ſo much, was that ſpirit of avarice which prevailed, and which engaged many merchants to attempt making a ſudden fortune by ſuffering their ſhips to run, inſtead of waiting for a convoy. It cannot indeed be denied, that a third principal cauſe of our miſcarriages, was the want of proper attention at the board of *Admiralty*, where officers were generally heard with too much, and merchants with too little favour. To this we may add that ſpirit of rapine and corruption which prevailed among the ſea-officers at this time, and which too often

Bt. over 17			692
2	of	30	60
4	of	24	96
2	of	18	36
2	of	16	32
2	of	12	24
11	of	10	110
5	of	8	40
1	of	6	6
4	of	4	16
Total 50			Total 1,112

The number of guns on board the French ſhips, which were either taken or burnt, more than in the Engliſh, were 1,132, and moſt of them much ſuperior in their weight of metal.

often induced them to conſider their commiſſions rather as powers given them to provide for themſelves and their families, than as truſts received for the benefit of the public. We muſt not forget in this enumeration of the cauſes of our loſſes in this reſpect, the ill conduct of our governors abroad, who were likewiſe totally employed in amaſſing fortunes, while the ſtrictneſs of the *French* diſcipline obliged ſuch as had the care of their plantations, to pay a proper regard to the public ſervice, to which alone was owing their preſerving their ſettlements at St. *Domingo*, from whence they might have been driven with the greateſt eaſe by the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards*, and yet were ſuffered to retain their ſettlements, though both nations were continually diſtreſſed by their invaſions; and in reſpect to this, it is no leſs evident, that the *Spaniards* were not ſo much to blame as we [u]. But, after all, the principal ſource of theſe miſchiefs, was the neceſſity both the *Dutch* and we were under of fitting out ſuch great fleets every year, whereby all our ſeamen were in a manner employed in the publick ſervice; ſo that, on the one hand, the merchants were forced to ſend their ſhips to ſea worſe manned than formerly, and on the other, our grand fleet and annual ſquadrons required ſo many ſhips, that it was impoſſible to furniſh the neceſſary convoys for the ſecurity of our trade. At leaſt, this was pretended; and the very pretence, perhaps,

[u] This appears plainly from the French hiſtory of that iſland, where it is owned, that a ſtorm delivered them in the beginning of the year 1698, from a deſcent from Jamaica; and that the news of the peace of Ryſwick came ſo opportunely, as to preſerve them from being totally deſtroyed by the Spaniards, who had already paſſed the mountains, with a body of between five and ſix hundred men. Hiſtoire de S. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 177.

haps, was another cauſe of our loſſes. This, however, is out of doubt, that taking all together, our traffic ſuffered exceſſively, our merchants were many of them ruined; and though enquiries into the miſmanagements, which heightened theſe misfortunes, were not proſecuted with that vigour they might have been, yet ſuch diſcoveries were made, as produced an abſolute diſtruſt of, and diſtaſte againſt, ſuch as had the direction of naval affairs, a loud clamour againſt the war, and a univerſal deſire of peace at any rate w.

AFTER this impartial repreſentation of the ſtate of our affairs at its concluſion, we need not wonder that a peace, and a peace ſo advantageous as that of *Ryſwick* was, ſhould give the greateſt ſatisfaction to the nation in general, and to the trading part in particular. That it did do ſo, may appear from the government's cauſing a ſpecial gazette to be publiſhed, on purpoſe to make known the *French* king's ratification and proclamation of the peace at *Paris*, two days ſooner than it would have otherwiſe been x; and by the numerous addreſſes of thanks and congratulation, which were ſent up from all parts of the kingdom, to felicitate his majeſty upon that occaſion, and to expreſs their juſt ſenſe of being delivered from the burthen and expence of ſo bloody and deſtructive a war. Neither ought it at all to abate the merit of this treaty, that the *French* ſtruck medals,

w Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Life of king William, Preſent State of Europe. x The Gazettes came out in thoſe days, on Mondays and Thurſdays. This paper, ſaid to be printed by authority, is dated, Whitehall, October 26, which was Tueſday. It is printed but on one ſide, and the French king's proclamation is in italick, in order to render it the more remarkable. The ſame thing had been done on the exchange of the ratifications, October 18, 1697. But that was in the nature of a poſt-gazette.

dals, magnifying their ſucceſs in the war, and their demonſtrating themſelves thereby a match for all the reſt of *Europe*; ſince if they had really been ſo victorious, and had gained ſuch advantages, the wonder was ſo much greater that they ſhould ſtoop to ſuch a peace [y]. But though it may be true, that in many reſpects the *French* had the advantage in this war, yet undoubtedly they foreſaw they were unable to ſupport ſo vaſt an expence as it brought upon them; and as their weakneſs encreaſed much faſter in proportion than that of the maritime powers this in a few campaigns would have quite changed the face of things, and either brought on the total ruin of *France*, or obliged her to make peace upon ſtill worſe terms than were demanded now.

It muſt therefore be allowed to the honour of this reign, and of this adminiſtration, that, however they managed the war, they gained by the peace; all, and indeed more than could be expected. By the fourth article the *French* king engages his word and faith, not to diſturb the king of *Great Britain* in any of his dominions, nor to aſſiſt directly or indirectly, any of the enemies of the ſaid king, nor to give ſhelter to any rebels or conſpirators againſt him. By the fifth, the free uſe of commerce or navigation is reſtored between the ſubjects of both kings. By the ſeventh, all places taken during the war, either in *Europe* or in *America*, are reſtored. As great care was taken of our allies, every thing was ſtipulated for them which with any ſhew of juſtice they could deſire; ſo that by the concluſion of this treaty, the general peace of *Europe* was reſtored [z], and we

[y] Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. tom. v. Hiſtoire militaire, &c.

[z] Amongſt other medals, ſtruck on the occaſion of this peace, there

we were left at full liberty to improve the advantages afforded thereby, for the rectifying whatever was amiss in our domeſtic oeconomy, extending our commerce, and eaſing our people. How far theſe points were ſtudied, or neglected, ſhall be our buſineſs to examine in the next chapter.

there was one very remarkable. On the face of the medal was repreſented a temple, the doors of which are ſhut by the plenipotentiaries. Before the temple there is an altar, on which a ſow is offered. The legend, *Cæſar firmabant fœdera perca*, alluding to the cuſtom of the Romans, who, on the concluſion of a peace, ſacrificed a ſwine. On the door of the temple ſtands, *Jano ſacrum*, i. e. ſacred to Janus. On the reverſe, are the arms of the ſeveral powers comprehended in the treaty; and in the centre, the royal caſtle of Ryſwick, with this inſcription, *Ryſwick, Gulielmi* III. *Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ Regis Palatium*, i. e. The palace of William III. by the grace of God, king of Great Britain.

CHAP. II.

The naval hiſtory of GREAT BRITAIN *continued throughout the remaining part of the reign of king* WILLIAM III. *with an account of the moſt remarkable tranſactions in relation to our commerce and plantations, and the memoirs of ſuch eminent ſeamen as flouriſhed within this period of time.*

THE affair of the *Eaſt-India* company in *Scotland* has been mentioned in the former chapter; but I did not inſiſt upon it then, becauſe it would have interrupted the thread of our hiſtory, and becauſe I apprehended it would come in more naturally here. It is certainly, even at this diſtance of time, a very delicate ſubject, eſpecially for one who profeſſes to follow truth at the expence of all parties and characters whatſoever. But the pleaſure which reſults from acting fairly in matters of this nature, is a ſufficient compenſation for any riſque that a writer can run by his impartiality; and therefore I ſhall lay the true ſtate of this matter before the reader, as it appears to me. The revolution brought back to *Scotland* ſeveral worthy patriots, whom the jealouſy of former reigns had driven into *Holland*, *Germany*, and other countries. Theſe, from the time of their return, thought of nothing ſo much as the putting the trade of *Scotland*, which had been hitherto in a manner totally neglected, on a proper foot. With this view they procured, in 1693, an act of parliament, that

that is, of the parliament of *Scotland*, for the encouragement of foreign commerce, and in conſequence of that law, procured another in 1695, for ſetting up an *Eaſt-India* company. When this was done, it was found requiſite to take in ſubſcriptions; and, as it was not eaſy to find money enough in *Scotland*, for the carrying on ſo expenſive a deſign, the company's agents endeavoured to procure ſubſcriptions abroad, particularly at *London*, *Hamburgh*, and *Amſterdam*, in which they were certainly ſufficiently ſupported both by the royal and legiſlative authority. But as the carrying this ſcheme into execution gave great umbrage to the *Eaſt-India* companies in *England* and *Holland*, they took, as it was very natural for them to do, the beſt meaſures they could to hinder the ſucceſs of theſe applications. This, however, had ſome very untoward conſequences, ſince theſe companies could effect nothing but by the interpoſition of their reſpective governments; and by this means his majeſty's name, as king of *England*, and *Stadtholder* of *Holland*, came to be made uſe of, to thwart thoſe deſigns which actually had his ſanction as king of *Scotland*. This, as might have been eaſily foreſeen, embarraſſed king *William* prodigiouſly; for it forced him to act in a manner little ſuitable to his inclinations, ſince on an application of the *Scots*, he was obliged to promiſe that he would not countenance any ſuch attempts to their prejudice; and to gratify the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, he found himſelf obliged to part with two very uſeful and able miniſters, the marquis of *Tweedale* and ſecretary *Johnſon*, becauſe the former had given the royal aſſent to the law which eſtabliſhed the *Scotch Eaſt-India* company, in which, however, he had only followed his inſtructions; and the latter for promoting that deſign, which, no doubt, he took to be what

it really was, an act of duty to his country. Yet theſe ſteps ſerved only to palliate things for the preſent, and inſtead of healing the breach, widened it, as will be ſeen hereafter a.

In the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament in 1698, the government found itſelf not a little embarraſſed with the affairs of the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* company. A ſcheme had been offered for erecting a new company, which was to advance two millions for the public ſervice at eight *per Cent.* and were to carry on this trade by a joint ſtock. To make way for this, it was propoſed to diſſolve the old company, though they had very lately a new charter granted them upon an addreſs from the houſe of commons, and in virtue of that charter, had encreaſed their capital by a ſubſcription of ſo conſiderable a ſum as ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. The pretence for diſſolving it, was a clauſe in that very charter, reſerving ſuch a power to the crown. But as it was not ſo much as aſſerted, that ſince the granting this new charter, they had done any thing which ought to ſubject them to a diſſolution, by moderate and impartial people, who knew nothing of ſtock-jobbing, this was thought not a little hard. The real cauſe why this ſtep for erecting a new company was taken, as biſhop *Burnet*, and other intelligent writers fairly own, was the public's wanting and having no way ſo ready to get money. However, the diſſolving ſcheme, notwithſtanding it was power-

a Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Life of king William, and other hiſtories of thoſe times. I have been extreamly careful here, to lay aſide all ſorts of prejudices, and to preſent the reader, in as few words as poſſible, with a genuine repreſentation of things, as they really fell out, ſtript of thoſe colourings, which party-writers, and partial hiſtorians have beſtowed upon them.

powerfully ſupported, did not take place; the new company had large privileges given them, and ſir *William Norris* was ſent by his majeſty ambaſſador to the great *Mogul*, on purpoſe to promote this ſcheme; which, notwithſtanding, miſcarried in reſpect of trade: for the old company, being poſſeſſed of the forts and factories in the *Eaſt-Indies*, took care to prepoſſeſs that monarch, and indeed all the other princes in thoſe parts, ſo ſtrongly againſt the new company, that the ambaſſador was but very indifferently received, and the whole affair, inſtead of improving our commerce, tended only to hurt both it and the credit of the nation in thoſe parts, at the ſame time that (as I have obſerved) the act for eſtabliſhing this new company, created very great diſcontents at home[b].

The managers of the *Eaſt-India* company in *Scotland*, finding their deſigns for carrying on that trade ſo vigorouſly oppoſed, and having, as they conceived, very large powers veſted in them by the late act of parliament, reſolved to turn their endeavours another way for the preſent, and to attempt the ſettlement of a colony in *America*, on the *Iſthmus* of *Darien*. Every body knows, that this is a very narrow tract of country which unites the two great continents of north and ſouth-*America*, and that conſequently it muſt be very advantageouſly ſeated for commerce. As the inhabitants had never been conquered by the *Spaniards*, and as the new colony ſent thither actually

[b] Biſhop Burnet, in his hiſtory of his own times, has treated this matter very fairly, and, as far as I can judge, ſet this matter in a true light. It is a great misfortune, that we have not any HISTORY *of public companies*, which would be both a uſeful and entertaining work. What I have offered is very ſuccinct, as the nature of this hiſtory obliged me to make it. To give the reader an accurate account of this buſineſs, would take up ſome ſheets, and indeed the buſineſs deſerves it.

purchaſed their lands from the native proprietors, and ſettled there by conſent, it was apprehended that the *Spaniards* had no right to diſpute this eſtabliſhment; and that, if they did, the planters might defend themſelves without involving the nation in a war. The colony was accordingly ſettled at a vaſt expence; but it was ſoon found, that great miſtakes had been made in relation to the conſequences expected from it. For the *Spaniards* not only conſidered it as an invaſion on their rights, and began to take our ſhips upon it; but the *Engliſh* alſo grew very uneaſy, and made warm repreſentations to his majeſty on this ſubject, which produced private orders to the governors of *Jamaica*, and other neighbouring plantations, not only to avoid all commerce with the *Scots* at *Darien*, but even to deny them proviſions. As it was foreſeen that theſe meaſures would naturally occaſion great diſturbances in that part of the world, it was found requiſite to ſend a ſquadron thither to protect our trade, to awe the *Spaniards*, and to hinder the encreaſe of pirates, which had been very great ever ſince the concluſion of the peace, occaſioned chiefly by the multitude of privateers that were then thrown out of employment; and having been long uſed to live by plunder, had not either the will nor the means to procure a ſubſiſtance for themſelves by any honeſt employment. There were alſo ſome other reaſons which made the ſending ſuch a naval force requiſite, as will appear in the ſubſequent account of its proceedings [c].

REAR-ADMIRAL *Benbow* was made choice of to command

[c] Kennet, Burnet, State-tracts in the time of king William, and particularly a little treatiſe, entitled, An enquiry into the cauſes of the miſcarriage of the Scots colony of Darien, 8vo. 1700, which is not printed in the folio collection of tracts before mentioned.

command this ſquadron, which conſiſted of three fourth rates, and a ſmall *French* prize. He ſailed from *Portſmouth* on the twenty-ninth of *November*, 1698, and arrived at *Barbadoes* the twenty-ſeventh of *February* following. He executed there, and at the *Leeward-Iſlands*, what he was directed by his inſtructions to do; and being informed, that the *Spaniards* at *Carthagena* had ſeized two of our ſhips, with an intent to employ them in an expedition they were then meditating againſt the *Scots* at *Darien*, he, like a brave and public-ſpirited commander, as he really was, reſolved to prevent it, and reſtore theſe ſhips to their right owners. With this view he ſtood over to the *Spaniſh* coaſt, and coming before *Boca Chica* caſtle, he ſent his men on ſhore for wood and water, which though he asked with great civility of the *Spaniſh* governor, he would ſcarce permit him to take [d]. This highly nettled the admiral, who thereupon ſent his own lieutenant to the governor, with a meſſage, importing, that he not only wanted theſe neceſſaries; but that he came likewiſe for two *Engliſh* ſhips that lay in the harbour, and had been detained there ſome time, which, if not ſent to him immediately, he would come and take by force. The governor anſwered him in very reſpectful terms, that if he would leave his preſent ſtation, in which he ſeemed to block up their port, the ſhips ſhould be ſent out to him. With this requeſt the admiral,

[d] London Gazette, No. 3450. Moſt people thought this ſquadron too ſmall, too weakly manned, and ſent too late in the year; and many reflections to this purpoſe were thrown out in pamphlets to diſturb the minds of the people, and alienate the affections of the ſeamen. But rear-admiral Benbow's conduct was ſo irreproachable, and, though he was a down-right ſailor, his manner of acting was ſo engaging, that he not only performed more than was expected, but returned with ample commendations from all our colonies.

without the leaſt heſitation, complied; but finding the governor triſled with him, and that his men were in danger of falling into the country-diſtemper, which doubtleſs the *Spaniſh* governor foreſaw, he ſent him another meſſage, that if in twenty-four hours the ſhips were not ſent him, he would come and fetch them; and that, if he kept them longer than that time, he would have an opportunity of ſeeing what reſpect an *Engliſh* officer had to his word. The *Spaniard*, however, did not think fit to make the experiment, but ſent out the ſhips within the time; with which the admiral returned to *Jamaica*, where he was received with much kindneſs and reſpect [a].

THERE he received an account, that the *Spaniards* at *Porto-Bello* had ſeized ſeveral of our ſhips employed in the ſlave-trade, on the old pretence, that the ſettlement at *Darien* was a breach of the peace. At the deſire of the parties concerned the admiral ſailed thither alſo, and demanded theſe ſhips; but received a ſurly anſwer from the admiral of the *Barlovento* fleet, who happened to be then at *Porto-Bello*. Rear-admiral *Benbow* expoſtulated with him on this head, inſiſting, that, as the ſubjects of the crown of *England* had never injured thoſe of his *Catholick* majeſty, he ought not to make prize of their ſhips for injuries done by another nation. The *Spaniard* replied ſhrewdly, that, ſince both the crowns were placed on the ſame head, it was no wonder he miſtook the ſubjects of one crown for the other. After many altercations, however, and when the *Spaniards* ſaw that the colony at *Darien* received no aſſiſtance from *Jamaica*, the ſhips were with much to do reſtored. The admiral, in the mean time, ſailed in queſt of one *Kidd*, a pirate, who had done a great

[a] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 577.

a great deal of miſchief in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and of whom we ſhall have hereafter occaſion to ſpeak more largely. On his return to *Jamaica*, towards the latter end of the year, he received a ſupply of proviſions from *England*, and ſoon after orders to return home; which he did with ſix men of war, taking *New-England* in his way[f].

WHILE rear-admiral *Benbow* was thus employed, vice-admiral *Aylmer* was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron into the *Mediterranean*, in order to confirm our treaties with the governments of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, and *Tripoli*, which he performed very effectually; for, being a man of a generous temper, he executed all things with ſuch magnificence, and treated the deputies ſent on board him in a manner ſo well ſuited to their tempers, that they were eaſily drawn to do thoſe things for him, which an officer of another diſpoſition would never have obtained[g]. It was intended too that he ſhould have ſecured the galleons, in caſe the *French* attempted to ſeize them on the death of the king of *Spain*, which was daily apprehended; but for this he certainly came too late, and though nobody pretended to fix any imputation on his character in this reſpect, yet there was great blame laid on the board of *Admiralty*, for not fitting out this fleet ſooner. This, among many other things, made up part of the charge brought againſt the management of the navy by the houſe of commons, in their addreſs

[f] Burchet, Kennet, Life of king William, Preſent ſtate of Europe, &c. [g] London Gazette, No. 3427. This fleet ſailed from Portſmouth, Sept. 13. 1698. But Mr. Burchet's account is ſo indiſtinct, that Mr. Lediard, in tranſcribing it, thought this fleet was fitted out in 1700, and under that year, has placed it in his naval hiſtory, p. 729. I am the more ſurprized at this, becauſe he takes notice of the commons addreſs in 1699, which actually took riſe from an inquiry into the late fitting out of this ſquadron.

dreſs to the king, preſented in the month of *April*, 1699; wherein, after taking notice of the late ſending of this fleet, they add, "That the victualling any of his majeſty's "ſhips by others than by the victuallers appointed for that "ſervice, or their agents, was contrary to the courſe of "the navy, and might be of ill conſequence. That many, "and new unneceſſary charges had, in an extraordinary "manner, been introduced into the navy, which was a "great miſmanagement. That the deductions of poun-"dage, taken by the pay-maſters of the navy, for ſlop-"cloths, dead-men's wages, tobacco, cheſt at *Chatham*, "chaplain, and ſurgeon, was without warrant, and ought "to be accounted for. That it was inconſiſtent with the "ſervice of the navy, for the ſame perſon to be one of the "commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high admi-"ral and treaſurer of the navy at the ſame time. And "that the paſſing of any account of monies impreſſed for "the contingent uſes of the navy, without regular vouch-"ers, or ſuch other proofs as the nature of the ſervice would "admit, either with or without a ſign manual, was con-"trary to the rules and methods of the navy, and of dan-"gerous conſequence. All which they begged leave to "lay before his majeſty, deſiring that he would be graci-"ouſly pleaſed to take effectual care, that the miſmanage-"ments herein complained of, might be prevented for "the future." The king gave a ſoft anſwer, which yet was ſatisfactory enough to this charge. It ran in theſe words: "Gentlemen, I will conſider of your addreſs. It "is my deſire, that all ſorts of miſmanagements and irre-"gularities ſhould be prevented or redreſſed. You may be "aſſured that I will take the beſt care I can in relation to

"the

"the navy, the right management whereof is of great "concern to the kingdom [h]."

THE earl of *Orford*, who was at this time at the head of the navy, and who, as all our writers agree, governed pretty abſolutely, on a ſuppoſition, that bringing over to the court a body of men, who had been formerly looked upon as ſtubborn malcontents, would juſtify every meaſure that he ſhould think neceſſary for ſo ſalutary a purpoſe, ſaw at what the commons were driving, and therefore very prudently reſolved to abate the edge of their reſentment, by laying down his employments, which he did accordingly, and thereupon a new commiſſion of *Admiralty* paſſed, in which the earl of *Bridgewater*, the lord *Haverſham*, ſir *Robert Rich*, ſir *George Rooke*, and ſir *David Mitchel*, were conſtituted commiſſioners. And thus things were twiſted about, rather as the intereſt and influences of parties required, than as was fitteſt for the public ſervice, which, though always pretended in ſpeeches and addreſſes, yet this was ſo viſibly a cloak for the pernicious deſigns of party, that we may ſafely aſſert, *private intereſt* was never more conſidered than at this time, when nothing was ſo much talked of as *public ſpirit* [i], may we live to ſee things conducted with more ſincerity!

WE are now come to a neceſſary part of this hiſtory, which will appear one of the ſtrongeſt inſtances of the truth

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[h] Chandler's debates, vol. iii. p. 102.

[i] The earl of Orford was afterwards impeached, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew: but there was never any proof offered on that impeachment; and to be ſure his lordſhip's faults were in his miniſterial character, and not as a commander. He was very ſincere and ſerviceable to his party, at the head of the admiralty board; but at ſea he forgot all diſtinctions, and had regard to nothing but merit.

truth of the foregoing obſervation; I mean the affair of *Kidd*, the pirate, which by an unaccountable ſtrain of party-reſentment, makes a conſiderable figure in our general hiſtories, and belongs, in a particular manner, to this; for which reaſon I ſhall treat it circumſtantially, and exactly agreeable to truth. There had been, for many years, loud and very juſt complaints of piracies in the *Weſt-Indies*, which, for the ſake of the profit made by purchaſing their ill-gotten goods, had met with too much encouragement from the inhabitants of ſeveral of our plantations. This induced king *William*, in the year 1695, to declare the earl of *Bellamont*, a nobleman of *Ireland*, and a perſon of very great worth and honour, governor of *New-York* and of *New-England*, believing him to be a proper perſon to reſtrain ſuch miſchiefs, and in time to put an end to the complaints made about them. After he was raiſed to this ſtation, and before he ſet out for his government, he began to enquire, as to the moſt proper methods, for extinguiſhing theſe abuſes, and repreſented it to one colonel *Levingſton*, a gentleman of conſiderable property in *New-York*, as a thing which nearly concerned the honour of that plantation. This induced the colonel to mention to his lordſhip, one captain *William Kidd*, who was lately arrived from *New-York*, in a ſloop of his own, as a brave bold fellow, who knew moſt of the pirates haunts, and might therefore be employed againſt them with great probability of ſucceſs. The earl readily approved the ſcheme, and knowing how much the king had the buſineſs at heart, mentioned it to his majeſty, who applauded the deſign, and recommended it to the board of *Admiralty*. But the public affairs being then in a perplexed ſituation, and great difficulties found in manning the fleet, the board, though

they ſignified their approbation of the thing, thought fit to lay it aſide [k].

COLONEL *Levingſton* having exact information of all that had paſſed, applied himſelf a ſecond time to the earl of *Bellamont*, and offered an amendment to his firſt project. He obſerved, that this was a thing which would admit of no delay; and, ſince the public could not immediately bear the expence, or conſequently undertake the intended expedition, it might not be amiſs if ſome few perſons of diſtinction ſhould venture on carrying it into execution at their own expence. This too was attended with much difficulty; but at laſt it was agreed, that the lord chancellor, (then lord *Somers*) the duke of *Shrewsbury*, the earl of *Romney*, the earl of *Orford*, and ſome other perſons, together with colonel *Levingſton* and *Kidd*, who were to have between them a fifth of the whole undertaking, ſhould raiſe ſix thouſand pounds for the expence of the voyage [l]. The king was ſo well pleaſed with the thing, and thought it of ſo great conſequence, as well as of ſo much benefit, to the public, that he likewiſe promiſed to contribute, and therefore a tenth part of the goods taken from pirates was reſerved to his majeſty, in the grant made of the reſt to the

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[k] Biſhop Burnet, and Mr. Oldmixon, have both inſiſted pretty largely on this matter. As to the former, he did not certainly underſtand it, for he actually took the grant of pirates goods to be illegal and unjuſtifiable, and ſeems to intimate ſome haſtineſs or imprudence in this buſineſs; whereas nothing can be clearer than that public ſpirit was the ſole motive to this deſign, and that Kidd's owners became ſo, becauſe he could not be fitted out otherwiſe. As to the latter, though very prolix, yet his account wants in a great meaſure the light of evidence, which ariſes very fully from an impartial ſtating of the matters of fact, and therefore I have dwelt ſo long upon it. [l] See an impartial account of the affair of captain Kidd, 4to.

the perſons engaged in fitting out *Kidd*. But, when the buſineſs was brought to bear, the king could not advance the money conveniently, and ſo the perſons above-mentioned were obliged to be at the whole expence. Captain *Kidd* had a commiſſion in the common form, to take and ſeize pirates, and bring them to juſtice, without any ſpecial clauſe or proviſo, whatever. He knew none of the adventurers but the lord *Bellamont*, who introduced him to the earl of *Orford*, and another perſon carried him to the earl of *Romney*. As for the reſt, he never ſaw them; and ſo little was there of ſecrecy or management in this buſineſs, that he had no inſtructions, either public or private; only the earl of *Bellamont* gave him ſailing orders, in which he was directed to act according to the letter of his commiſſion [m].

THUS furniſhed, captain *William Kidd* ſailed in the *Adventure*-galley, towards the end of the year 1695, for *New-York*, and in his way took a *French* prize. From thence he ſailed to *Madeira*, thence to *Bonaviſta* and St. *Jago*, from whence he proceeded to *Madagaſcar*, and from thence he cruized at the entrance of the *Red Sea*; but effecting nothing, he ſailed to *Calicut*, and took a ſhip of one hundred and fifty tons; the maſter, and three or four of the crew, were *Dutchmen*, the reſt *Moors*: This ſhip he carried to *Madagaſcar*; from thence he ſailed again, and about five weeks after took the *Quedah-Merchant*, of four hundred tons: the maſter was one *Wright*, an *Engliſhman*. She had on board two *Dutch* mates, and a *French* gunner; the crew were *Moors*, in all about ninety

[m] This plainly ſhews, there was nothing ſecret or myſterious in this expedition; but that he was ſent on the deſign expreſſed in the king's commiſſion, and on that only.

ninety perſons[a]. The ſhip he carries to St. *Mary*'s, near *Madagaſcar*, and there he ſhared the goods with his crew, taking forty ſhares to his own uſe. Here ninety of his crew, who were a hundred and fifty-one in all, left him, and went on board the *Mocha-Merchant*, an *Eaſt-India* company ſhip, which had turned pirate; and there was every grain as much reaſon to charge that company with the piracies the *Mocha-Merchant*'s crew committed, as there was to charge *Kidd*'s adventures with his. He and his men burnt his own ſhip the *Adventure*-galley at St. *Mary*'s, and they all went on board the *Quedah-Merchant*, and ſailed for the *Weſt-Indies*. Being denied ſuccour at *Anguilla* and St. *Thomas*'s, he ſailed to *Mona*, lying between *Porto-Rico* and *Hiſpaniola*, and there, by the means of one *Bolton*, got ſome proviſions from *Curacoas*. He bought a ſloop of *Bolton*, in which he loaded part of his goods, and left the *Quedah-Merchant*, with the reſt of the goods, in truſt with *Bolton*, and ſeventeen or eighteen men in her. In this ſloop he touched at ſeveral places, and diſpoſed of a great part of his goods, and at laſt came to *Boſton* in *New-England*, where the earl of *Bellamont* ſeized him, and what goods he had left; for this fellow either had, or pretended to have, a notion, that the *Quedah-Merchant* being manned by *Moors*, was a lawful prize, though there was no proof that the commander of her, and his crew, had committed any piracies on the *Engliſh*, or any other *European*, or indeed *Indian* nation. As ſoon as this was done, his lordſhip ſent advice of his taking *Kidd*, to *England*, and deſired that a ſhip might be ſent to bring him home. This was accordingly complied with; but the *Rocheſter*,

[a] This is taken from his trial, and other authentic accounts of him.

Rocheſter, which was the ſhip employed in this ſervice, being diſabled, was forced to return, which heightened the clamour that had been already raiſed about this tranſaction, and which was outrageous in the very ſame proportion it was groundleſs [o].

THE ſource of this clamour was undoubtedly a private pique to particular perſons; which induced ſome warm men to put a queſtion in the houſe of commons, *That the letters patent granted to the earl of* Bellamont, *and others, of pirates goods, were diſhonourable to the king, againſt the law of nations, contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, an invaſion of property, and deſtructive to commerce.* This was carried in the negative; but it did not hinder thoſe who ſupported the queſtion, from charging lord *Somers* and the earl of *Orford* with countenancing pirates; and, to give ſome colour to this groundleſs and moſt improbable charge, as ſoon as it was known that the *Rocheſter* was returned, it was ſuggeſted, that the ſending that ſhip was mere colluſion; that the earl of *Bellamont* was as deep in this affair as the reſt, and upon this a motion was made, and carried in the houſe of commons, for an *addreſs* to his majeſty, that *Kidd* might not be tried till the next ſeſſion of parliament, and that the earl of *Bellamont* might be directed to ſend home all examinations, and other papers relating to this buſineſs; which the king promiſed very readily [p].

THIS affair muſt naturally give his majeſty, and indeed the whole world, a ſtrange opinion of the patriotiſm of thoſe times. He knew the whole matter better than any

[o] The noiſe made about this fellow, diſturbed the government ſo much, that it was one reaſon for ſending rear-admiral Benbow to the Weſt-Indies. [p] Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, Life of king William, &c.

any body, and was pleaſed to ſay, with great truth and juſtice, that if he might be admitted as a witneſs, he could vindicate, from his own knowledge, the noble perſons now attacked, in all they had done. He muſt, therefore, be thoroughly perſuaded that this was a very unjuſt and iniquitous proſecution, in relation to which he had reaſon to think himſelf happy, that he was not able to perform his promiſe of contributing towards this deſign, ſince that might have given a handle to ſome warm member for calling him *pirate*, as Mr. *Howe* actually called him a *felon*, for making the treaty of partition, to which we ſhall ſpeedily come.

But how clear ſoever the king, and other impartial judges, might be, this ſpirit was ſtill ſo prevalent in the houſe of commons, that even after making ſome enquiries into this fact, and having not only his examination, but *Kidd* himſelf in their power, whom they ordered to be brought to their bar, and queſtioned him there (very little to their credit, or to the purpoſe) yet when they afterwards found an opportunity of attacking the earl of *Orford* and lord *Somers* by impeachments, they did not fail to throw in their encouragement of *Kidd* as part of the charge [q]. In the articles againſt the earl of *Orford*, they make the *fifth* and *ſixth*, which for the ſatisfaction of the

[q] It was pretended that Kidd would make diſcoveries, and upon this he was ſent for to the bar of the houſe of commons, where he behaved very meanly; and ſir Edward Seymour, who ſent for him, ſaid, the fellow was not more a knave than a fool. But the true intent of bringing him thither, was, to ſet up another diſcovery, viz. That before he returned to Newgate, he went to the houſe of the earl of Halifax, and conferred there with the lords who were ſaid to be concerned with him; but of this, the proof was as weak as the ſtory incredible.

reader I ſhall inſert, to ſhew with how great ſolemnity the moſt trifling affair may be made to appear.

"V. AND whereas complaints were made to the commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of *England*, where the ſaid earl at that time preſided, by the company trading to the *Eaſt-Indies*, of divers piracies committed in the *South-Seas*, to the deſtruction of their trade; deſiring they might have letters of marque granted to them, whereby to be empowered, though at their own charge, to ſuppreſs ſuch piracies: but the ſaid earl preferring his own intereſt, diſcouraged and rejected their requeſt and propoſal, and in ſome ſhort time after, jointly with others, did procure a commiſſion for one *William Kidd*; as likewiſe a grant under the great-ſeal of *England*, to and for the uſe of him the ſaid earl and others, of the ſhips and goods of certain perſons therein named, and alſo of all the goods found on board the ſaid ſhips. And the ſaid company having intimation of a commiſſion granted to the ſaid *Kidd*, being apprehenſive of the ill conſequences of the ſame, did apply themſelves to the ſaid board of *Admiralty*, deſiring to know what powers and inſtructions were given: but ſuch their reaſonable requeſt was denied, and *Kidd*, who was known to be a perſon of ill fame and reputation, ordered to purſue the intended voyage, in which he did commit divers piracies and depredations on the high ſeas, being thereto encouraged through the hopes of being protected by the high ſtation and intereſt of the ſaid earl, in violation of the laws of nations, and the interruption and diſcouragement of the trade in *England*."

"VI. THAT the ſaid earl, within the time aforeſaid, when an horrid conſpiracy was diſcovered againſt his

"majeſty's

" majeſty's ſacred perſon, and the kingdom was under an " apprehenſion of an immediate invaſion from *France*, and " divers ſhips of war, particularly the ſhip *Dutcheſs*, were " armed out, and equipp'd and manned in defence of the " realm, to oppoſe the intended invaſion, did his utmoſt " endeavour to prejudice his office, being the firſt com- " miſſioner for executing the office of lord high admiral of " *England*, without the privity of the other commiſſioners, " contrary to his oath and duty, and preferring his hopes " of gain to himſelf, to the ſafety of the public, did order " captain *Steward*, commander of the ſhip *Dutcheſs*, to " deliver over, and put on board, the ſaid *Kidd*, mention- " ed in the foregoing article, out of the ſaid ſhip the " *Dutcheſs*, a great number of able ſeamen, levied and " provided at the expence of the public, and then diſcharg- " ing their duty in defence of their country, and againſt " their own conſent, to the prejudice of the public ſecu- " curity, and to the endangering the ſaid ſhip the *Dutcheſs*, " if it had been attacked by the enemy [1]."

THE earl of *Orford*'s anſwer will ſufficiently declare, how little foundation there was in fact for what the commons advanced; and therefore I ſhall give what he offers, as to theſe two articles, in his own words. "As to the " fifth article, *ſays his lordſhip*, the *Eaſt-India* company, " about the beginning of *March*, 1696, did apply to the " *Admiralty* board, of which the ſaid earl was one, to " empower their ſhips and officers to ſeize and take all pi- " rates infeſting the ſeas, within the limits of their char- " ter; and likewiſe to erect a court of *Admiralty* in thoſe " parts, to try and condemn ſuch pirates as they ſhould

[1] See the articles of impeachment againſt Edward earl of Orford, printed by order of the houſe of commons in 1701.

" take. Upon which application, the board of *Admi-*
" *ralty* did take advice, and were informed, they had no
" authority to grant the ſame, and denies he, the ſaid
" earl, ever diſcouraged or rejected the company's requeſt
" therein, unleſs it were by telling them, that the *Admi-*
" *ralty*, by law, could not grant the ſame; and denies that
" the company was ever denied letters of marque in com-
" mon form, to the knowledge of the ſaid earl. And
" ſaith, as to the matter of *Kidd*, in this article mentioned,
" he was gone upon his expedition about twelve months
" before that time; and as to his commiſſion, and the grant
" in the ſaid article mentioned, the ſaid earl humbly
" conceives, and is adviſed, the ſame were not contrary
" to law; but ſure he is, the ſaid expedition was intended
" for the public good and ſervice; and ſaith, the ſaid *Kidd*
" had no powers or inſtructions from the board of *Admi-*
" *ralty*, other than the ordinary and common letters of
" marque, the contents whereof are common and well
" known to merchants; and the ſaid earl doth deny that
" he knew the ſaid *Kidd* to be of ill fame and reputation.
" But in caſe the ſaid *Kidd* had committed any piracies,
" he, the ſaid *Kidd*, is anſwerable, and ought to anſwer
" for the ſame, he never being ordered by the ſaid earl ſo
" to do, nor had he ever any the leaſt encouragement
" given him by the ſaid earl, or any other, to his know-
" ledge, to expect or hope for any protection therein, or
" in any illegal action done or committed by him [s]."

BUT his lordſhip's anſwer to the latter article is ſtill ſtronger,

[s] See theſe anſwers in the ſame collection. They are very indifferently abridged by moſt of our hiſtorians; as in truth they muſt be, ſince by abridging them, ſome facts muſt neceſſarily be left out.

ſtronger. In that he ſays, "He believes it to be true, "that there was a horrid and barbarous plot and conſpi- "racy againſt his majeſty's ſacred perſon, and that there "was an apprehenſion of an immediate invaſion. But "the ſaid earl hopes, no neglect of duty in his ſtation can "be imputed to him to prevent the ſame. And as for "the ſhip *Dutcheſs*, which was amongſt many others "armed and equipped in defence of the realm, the ſaid earl "ſaith, that the men in the ſaid article mentioned to be "taken from on board her, were but ſome of the very "perſons that were juſt before taken from on board cap- "tain *Kidd*, and returned by their own conſent on board "captain *Kidd* again, not being above twenty in num- "ber; and ſaith, all fears of the invaſion were then over, "and at an end; and denies that the ſame was intended "to weaken, or did weaken, the ſaid ſhip, or the navy "royal; or that the ſaid ſeamen, ſo returning on board "the ſaid *Kidd*, were levied or provided at the expence "of the public, or did return or were put on board the "ſaid *Kidd*, againſt their own conſent, or to the prejudice "of the public ſecurity, or that the ſhip *Dutcheſs* was "thereby endangered, if ſhe had been attacked, as in the "ſaid article is alledged."

THESE articles were agreed to by the houſe of commons, on the eighth of *May*, 1701, the very day that *Kidd* was brought upon his trial for piracy at the *Old-Baily*, where he was convicted, with many of his companions, and ſoon after executed; but could never be prevailed upon, as weak and as bad a man as he was, to charge any of the noble perſons, who were his owners, with having any thing to do with his proceedings. Yet even after his death, the commons, in an impeachment by them prefer-

red againſt *John* lord *Somers*, charge him as lord-keeper of the great ſeal of *England*, in conjunction with the earl of *Orford*, firſt commiſſioner of the *Admiralty*, and *Richard* earl of *Bellamont*, governor of *New-York* and of *New-England*, and others then in great ſtations and in high power and authority, for ſealing a commiſſion to one *William Kidd*, a perſon of evil fame and reputation, ſince convicted of piracy, and with procuring a grant of pirate's goods to be taken by the ſaid *William Kidd*, under colour of the ſaid commiſſion, in truſt for himſelf and other perſons, with abundance more to the ſame purpoſe, intended purely to hurt that lord's character, and render it impoſſible for his majeſty to employ him longer in his ſervice; though his lordſhip, conſcious of his own innocence, took every meaſure poſſible, to have this matter brought to a fair, open, and ſpeedy trial [1]. But while things were thus carried on at home, the nation ſuffered exceedingly for want of due care being taken to put an end to thoſe depredations committed by pirates abroad, and therefore ſeveral experienced officers were ſent to *Madagaſcar*, where they had made a very ſtrong ſettlement, in order to root out and deſtroy them; but with ſo little ſucceſs, that the government began at laſt to deſpair of effecting any thing in this way, till Mr. ſecretary *Burchet* deviſed a project, which anſwered the end very ſpeedily. This was ſending a proclamation by captain *James Littleton*, who was afterwards a flag-officer, and commiſſioner of the navy, promiſing pardon to all the pirates who ſurrendered, and a reward in caſe they would ſecure and deliver up any of their commanders. This ſoon brought

[1] This affair went off by the lords appointing a day for the trial of the peers, and the commons refuſing to be preſent at that trial, or to make any proofs.

brought in many of the private men, and made the reſt, eſpecially their chiefs, ſo jealous of each other, that they could not hold together, or venture upon any new enterprizes. So that captain *Littleton* having brought off ſome, and ſeparated the reſt, very ſoon deſtroyed ſuch as were moſt refractory, and re-eſtabliſhed that free navigation which had been ſo long interrupted in thoſe parts [u]. I know that this will ſeem to ſome a very trivial affair to be ſo long inſiſted on; but as it ſhews the ſpirit of thoſe times, and accounts for a very famous proſecution, I hope the majority of thoſe who purſue this work, will not think it impertinent, eſpecially as it has ſome connection throughout with the ſubject of this book.

BUT we now return to matters of a more public concern. A war had ariſen between the kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, which greatly affected the peace of the north; a thing that can never happen without intereſting the maritime powers. It will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething as to the grounds of this war, becauſe the part we took in it was very much to the honour of the *Engliſh* nation, and ought to eſtabliſh it as a maxim, that whenever it is really neceſſary to aſſiſt our allies, we ought to do it vigorouſly, and at once; which is the way not only to ſerve them, but to ſave a very conſiderable expence to us. There was, towards the cloſe of the year 1699, a private treaty made by ſeveral princes for attacking the king of *Sweden*, afterwards the famous *Charles* the twelfth, but then a perfect lad, and even for diſmembering the *Swediſh* monarchy. According to this ſcheme, the king of *Denmark* was to invade *Holſtein*, the elector of *Brandenburg* was to fall into the

[u] Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, Life of king William, &c.

Swediſh Pomerania, the king of *Poland* was to attack *Livonia*, and in caſe the dukes of *Zell* and *Hanover* moved to the aſſiſtance of the *Swedes*, the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, and the duke of *Wolfenbuttel*, were to fall upon them. This was an alliance founded entirely upon intereſt, for the *Swedes* had done nothing to deſerve this treatment, and therefore upon the firſt breaking out of this confederacy, his *Swediſh* majeſty addreſſed himſelf to king *William* and the *States General*, as guarantees of the treaties made for ſecuring the tranquility of the north, by preſerving there a proper balance of power. At firſt it was thought requiſite to interpoſe only our good offices. But when the king of *Denmark* over-ran *Holſtein*, and the king of *Poland* firſt attempted to ſurprize and then beſieged *Riga* in *Livonia*, it became neceſſary to take other meaſures, eſpecially when it was known that the *Czar* was inclined to enter into the confederacy, the point in debate with his majeſty was, whether he ſhould do what was neceſſary, and what he was obliged to by treaties, without conſulting the houſe of commons; or whether he ſhould lay the whole matter before the parliament, and leave the deciſion of it to them. Some of the miniſtry were for taking the latter method, but the king was for the former, and with good reaſon; he ſaid, the executive part of the government was in him, and therefore he would do what was fit for him to do, and acquaint the parliament with it at their next meeting [w].

His

[w] The reader may conſult our general hiſtories, and particularly the memoirs of biſhop Burnet on this ſubject, which he has treated fully and freely. The truth is, the ſcheme, however fair in appearance, was like to be attended with ſuch conſequences, that baron Pleſſe, who was a very honeſt man, and had ſerved his Daniſh majeſty long as prime miniſter, could not digeſt it, but reſigned his employments.

His majeſty, in the ſpring of the year, 1700, ſent over a ſtrong ſquadron into *Holland*, under the command of ſir *George Rooke*, who, in the latter end of *May*, was joined by a *Dutch* ſquadron, and having the command of the whole fleet, he ſailed for the *Sound*, where he arrived about the middle of *June*. There he found the *Daniſh* fleet, conſiſting of twenty-eight ſail of line of battle ſhips, ranged athwart the narrow paſſage, under the guns of their caſtle of *Cronenburg*, oppoſite to *Helſingberg*; and here he received aſſurance from count *Wutchtmeiſter*, admiral-general of *Sweden*, that he would take the very firſt opportunity of joining him with the ſquadron under his command. Not long after a ſignal was made, as had been agreed from *Helſingberg*, that the *Daniſh* fleet were under ſail; whereupon our admiral weighed anchor, and advanced into the *Sound*, to prevent any miſchief which might otherwiſe happen to the *Swedes*. But the *Daniſh* ſhips anchored again on this ſide of the grounds, not only to guard the paſſage, but to prevent our joining with the *Swediſh* ſquadron, which were now come down to the ſouth ſide of that channel. In this poſture the fleets lay for ſome time, ſir *George Rooke* expecting that the *Swedes* would, according to what had been promiſed, have puſhed through; which in all probability they might have done in leſs than two hours, for it had blown freſh at S. S. E. But the opportunity being loſt, he got under ſail, and came nearer to the iſland of *Huen*. Mean while the *Danes* plyed towards him in a line of battle, but anchored about noon near three leagues off in the mouth of the channel leading up to *Copenhagen*, and the *Swedes* were much about the ſame diſtance on the other ſide of the grounds. The *Danes* then endeavoured to amuſe the admiral with an account of a treaty, in hopes that,

that, while it was negotiated, he would ſuſpend hoſtilities; but he purſued the ſpirit of his inſtructions, which required him to promote not a negotiation, but a peace, and therefore being informed that the *Swediſh* fleet had paſſed the channel of *Flinterena* on the third of *July*, he ſailed the next day, and anchoring off *Landſcroon*, the *Swediſh* fleet joined him on the ſixth; upon which the *Danes* retired into their harbour, where they were very well ſecured; and though the united fleets pretended to bombard them in the port of *Copenhagen*, yet either they could not, or would not, do them much miſchief [x].

THE confederate fleet conſiſted of fifty-two ſhips of the line; but as ſo great a ſtrength was not neceſſary to keep in the *Danes*, part was detached for other purpoſes, for there were ſent to *Gottenburgh* a fourth and a fifth rate of the *Engliſh*, and three ſhips of the *States-General*, to cover the forces which the king of *Sweden* intended to tranſport to *Tonningen*, on the river of *Eyder*, and three *Engliſh*, with ſix *Swediſh*, together with three *Dutch* ſhips, were ordered into the ſouth channel going into *Copenhagen*, with the bomb-veſſels, from whence they bombarded the *Daniſh* fleet ſome hours, but not with much greater ſucceſs than before; nor did thoſe on our ſide receive any damage from their ſhells, or the ſhot from the town, the ſhips and the puntoons. Preparations were now making for a vigorous deſcent in *Roge* bay, and between *Copenhagen* and *Elſinore* at the ſame time; but the winds being contrary, thoſe troops which embarked at *Udſtedt* being chiefly horſe, could not get over to the bay before-mentioned, as was intended, ſo that they were put on ſhore, and ordered to *Landſcroon* and

[x] Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, Le Clerc, Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. &c.

and *Helſenbourg*, to be tranſported from thence; and the latter end of *July* the king of *Sweden* landed with about five thouſand foot near four miles on this ſide *Elſinore*, without any great loſs, although the *Danes* had brought down a body of horſe and foot, and three or four field-pieces to oppoſe them. This quick motion was intended to accelerate the negotiations that were then carrying on, and it had the deſired effect; for the *Danes*, exceſſively alarmed at ſo unexpected a proceeding, ſent orders to their plenipotentiaries at *Travendale*, to ſign the preliminaries on the terms propoſed by the mediators; and this being ſignified to ſir *George Rooke*, he refuſed to let the combined fleet cover any longer the deſcent of the *Swedes*, there being enough already done to ſecure a peace, which was ſigned on the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, 1700, which left the king of *Sweden* at liberty to act againſt the *Czar* and the king of *Poland*, who had both invaded his dominions in this critical juncture y.

THIS whole tranſaction was extreamly honourable, and at the ſame time very advantageous to the maritime powers, who cannot, as I obſerved, be at any time, conſiſtent with their intereſts, tame ſpectators of a war in the north. If they had not aſſiſted the *Swedes*, who were then the weakeſt, the *Danes* would have drawn the negotiation into a great length, while their allies were diſtreſſing the king of *Sweden* in different parts of his dominions; and on the other hand, if the combined fleets had acted as vigorouſly as the king of *Sweden* would have had them, the iſland of *Zeland* muſt have been reduced, and perhaps the city of *Copenhagen* taken, which would have inclined the

y Preſent State of Europe, Life of king William, Le Clerc, &c.

the ballance too much the other way. This was the true reaſon that the bombardment had ſo little effect, and ſir *George Rooke* did not affect to conceal it: for when king *Charles* complained to him, that the *Engliſh* bombs flew over, and the *Dutch* fell ſhort of the *Daniſh* fleet, and that he wondered the maritime powers ſent ſo great a ſtrength to do nothing; admiral *Rooke* anſwered him very calmly, *Sir, I was ſent hither to ſerve your majeſty, but not to ruin the king of* Denmark. *Why then*, replied the king, ſmiling, *you have certainly executed your commiſſion, and have made ſuch a war as will make a peace.* When the buſineſs was done, the combined fleets returned, and the *States-General* were ſo ſenſible of the prudent management of the *Engliſh* admiral, that they thanked his majeſty for having entruſted him with the commiſſion. I cannot help obſerving upon this occaſion, that when ſir *George Rooke* was ſo unlucky as to labour under the diſpleaſure of a powerful party in *England*, he was known and acknowledged in *Holland* to be the beſt officer, and the greateſt ſeamen of the age. This, perhaps, was the reaſon, that notwithſtanding the difference of parties, king *William* always preſerved a good opinion of this gentleman, and employed him as long as he lived in the moſt important commands.

In *Scotland* things ran very high on the old ſubject of complaint, *viz.* the ruin of the *Darien* colony. Things were printed on both ſides on purpoſe to inflame the minds of the people, and many thought that it would at laſt have created a breach between the two nations. The coldneſs of the king's temper prevented this; he could neither be heated by the *Engliſh* repreſentations, or blown into a paſſion by the haſty reſolutions of the *Scotch* parliament; and his moderation towards each of them, if it did not bring

them both to a good temper, which was indeed never effected in his reign, yet it gave him an opportunity to keep the wiſeſt people in *England* and in *Scotland*, firm to his government, while in the mean time many unforeſeen accidents brought about the ruin of the *Scotch* company; ſo that the ends of their *Engliſh* adverſaries were anſwered, without their having recourſe to any harſh means; for after captain *Drummond* ran away with the *Riſing Sun*, and engaged in ſome exploits which had too much the air of piracy, it was found impracticable to reſtore the affairs of the company, though the matter hung in ſuſpenſe, and the fire of diſſention lay raked up under the embers as long as king *William* lived, and had like to have blazed out in the reign of his ſucceſſor; as will be hereafter ſhewn in its proper place [z].

We are now to return to affairs nearer home. The death of the king of *Spain* changed all the affairs of *Europe*, and forced us, who had ſo lately made a very neceſſary peace, upon a new, expenſive, and dangerous war, contrary to the genius at leaſt, if not, as the patriots of thoſe times aſſerted, to the intereſt of the nation [a]. It is certain that

[z] Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, &c. [a] In order to be ſenſible of this, we need only caſt our eyes on the following paſſage of my lord Somers's letter to king William, dated from Tunbridge-wells, Auguſt 28, 1698, in anſwer to one written by the king in relation to the firſt treaty of partition.

"The ſecond thing conſidered, was, the very ill proſpect of "what was like to happen upon the death of the king of Spain, "in caſe nothing was done previouſly, in providing againſt that "accident, which ſeemed probably to be very near: the king "of France having ſo great a force in ſuch a readineſs, that "he was in a condition to take poſſeſſion of Spain, before any "other prince could be able to make a ſtand. Your majeſty is "the beſt judge whether this be the caſe, who are ſo perfectly "informed of the circumſtances of parts abroad. "But

that the king did all he could to avoid it; and that this was the great, if not the ſole foundation of the two famous partition-treaties, which were ſo much exclaimed againſt by thoſe whoſe ſteady oppoſition to a war, had firſt brought the king and his miniſtry to think of them. It has been much diſputed, whether the *French* king, or the confederates, meant leaſt to keep theſe treaties when they were made; but it ſo falling out, that the *French* king had a fairer opportunity of breaking the laſt, than the confederate princes, this furniſhed them with an opportunity of charging him with breach of faith, and forging the king of *Spain*'s will; which, however, were things believed by ſuch only as knew little of the matter, ſince there never was a ſtate-reſolution taken with better advice, and more deliberation, than that of king *Charles* the ſecond's, calling the duke of *Anjou*, afterwards king *Philip* V. to the ſucceſſion. It has been alſo ſaid, that the proclaiming the prince of *Wales* on the death of king *James* II. by the *French* king, was one of the cauſes of the war; and whoever looks upon the public acts of thoſe times, I mean declarations, addreſſes, votes, *&c.* will think the fact certain. Yet I am pretty confident it was quite otherwiſe, ſince king *William* ſigned the grand alliance at the *Hague*, a week before king *James* died. But this pretence of the *French* king's breach of treaty and of his word, was very plauſible,

" But ſo far as relates to England, it would be want of duty, " not to give your majeſty this clear account. That there is " a deadneſs and want of ſpirit in the nation univerſally, ſo as " not at all to be diſpoſed to the thought of entering into a new " war: that they ſeemed to be tired out with taxes to a degree " beyond what was diſcerned, till it appeared upon the occa- " ſion of the late elections. This is the truth of the fact upon " which your majeſty will determine what reſolutions are pro- " per to be taken."

plauſible, and therefore it was very prudent to lay ſo great ſtreſs upon it, becauſe it ſerved to raiſe the reſentments of the nation, and to excite that ſpirit that was wanting, and which much better motives never would have raiſed [b].

I WOULD by no means be underſtood to cenſure this war as unreaſonable or unjuſt; in doing this I ſhould quit my character as an hiſtorian, and at the ſame time write contrary to my opinion. All I aim at is to diſtinguiſh grounds from pretences, and to juſtify king *William*'s meaſures in this reſpect from their true motives, rather than from thoſe which were uſed only to colour them, in compliance with the nation's temper at that time. The king, who was a very wiſe man, and a very great politician, ſaw plainly, that the *Spaniſh* ſucceſſion, if it fell entirely into the hands of the houſe of *Bourbon*, would leave it abſolutely in the power

[b] The citation in the laſt note, ſufficiently ſhews the king's ſentiments, and thoſe of his miniſter upon this ſubject; and therefore, as I write at ſuch a diſtance of time, when truth muſt be ſerviceable, and can do no hurt, I think I have a right to ſpeak plainly, otherwiſe I ſhould not have exerciſed it. As to the addreſſes from all parts of England (in which the French king's character is very roughly treated on account of his proclaiming a perſon whom ſome call prince of Wales, and others an impoſter) I can only ſay, that it was politically right at that time to encourage it. But as to the perfidiouſneſs of the French king, it is not ſo clear in this caſe, becauſe he knew at the time, king William had negotiated a new grand alliance, and conſequently ſtood to him in the light of his capital enemy. The excuſe indeed he made for proclaiming the ſon of king James was trifling, and diſingenuous. He ſaid it was no breach of the treaty of Ryſwick, becauſe he gave him the title only of king of England, &c. but did not aſſiſt him to recover them. On the other hand king William wrote a letter to the new king of Spain, to felicitate him on his acceſſion, though he never intended to own him. Theſe are acts of policy, not of perfidy.

power of that houſe to give law to the reſt of *Europe*, and to deſtroy that independency ſo neceſſary to *Great Britain* and *Holland*, which yet reſults from the ballance that had hitherto been kept between that family and the houſe of *Auſtria*. He ſaw too that the ſenſe which other powers had of their particular grievances, and immediate danger from the power of the *French* king, afforded the means of combining ſuch a force, as might be able to bring that monarch to reaſon, and to conſent to ſuch an eſtabliſhment as would leave things in their former ſtate, and ſecure the ſeveral potentates of *Europe* in the poſſeſſion of their juſt rights. This induced him to engage reciprocally papiſts and proteſtants, to ſupport each others pretenſions; for by the grand alliance *Great Britain* and the *States* undertook to procure ſatisfaction to the pope; as on the other hand the emperor, and other catholic princes, ſtipulated to ſupport the proteſtant intereſt, and maintain the rights of the maritime powers in reſpect to their commerce. This it was that made the whole a common cauſe; and though theſe articles expoſed the alliance to very popular objections amongſt party-men at home and abroad, yet to perſons of judgment and ſagacity, of clear heads and candid hearts, nothing could recommend it more. In all confederacies the good of the whole muſt be regarded, and to this the particular views of all the ſeparate princes and powers who compoſe it, muſt give way; and therefore if, conſidering things in this light, the general alliance formed againſt *France* in 1701, was right and well founded, all the cavils raiſed againſt it from the party ſpirit that prevailed here, were equally frivolous and unjuſt [c].

WHEN

[c] This is the ſubſtance of all the ſtate-tracts that were written in thoſe times, and which ſerved, as they generally do, only

WHEN the reſolution was once formed to have recourſe again to arms, in order to preſerve the balance of power, the firſt care was taken of the fleet, which his majeſty reſolved ſhould be much ſuperior to that of the enemy; his majeſty being extreamly ſenſible of the ill conſequences that followed the want of this ſalutary precaution at the beginning of the laſt war. Preparatory to this was the new commiſſion of the *Admiralty* in the ſpring of the year 1701, at the head of which was placed the earl of *Pembroke*, a man univerſally beloved and eſteemed. The command of the fleet was very judiciouſly beſtowed upon ſir *George Rooke*, who on the ſecond of *July* went on board the *Triumph* in the *Downs*, where he hoiſted the flag. He ſoon after ſailed to *Spithead*, where he was ſpeedily joined by the reſt of the fleet, conſiſting of forty-eight ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, and ſmall veſſels. He had under him ſome of the greateſt ſeamen of the age, *viz.* Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, ſir *Thomas Hopſon*, *John Benbow*, eſq; and ſir *John Munden*, he was not long after reinforced by fifteen *Dutch* men of war of the line, beſides frigates and ſmall veſſels, under the command of lieutenant-admiral *Allemonde*, vice-admiral *Vandergoes*, and rear-admiral *Waeſſenaar*. The whole fleet was obliged to wait at St. *Helen's* until the middle of *Auguſt* for want of proviſions; and when he put to ſea, the wind blew in a few hours ſo high, that he was conſtrained to put into *Torbay*. Towards the latter end of the month he ſailed again; and on the ſecond of *September* he detached vice-admiral *Benbow* with a ſtout ſquadron for the *Weſt-Indies*; and as this was the principal buſineſs of

only to puzzle and confound people; whereas we, being now out of the reach of their influence, ſee things as they were, and are able to crow'd the ſubſtance of many pamphlets into a paragraph.

the fleet, and indeed a thing in itſelf of the higheſt importance, the admiral detached a ſtrong ſquadron of *Engliſh* ſhips under the command of ſir *John Munden*, and ten ſail of *Dutch* men of war, beſides frigates, under rear-admiral *Waeſſenare*, to ſee the *Weſt India* ſquadron well into the ſea. The *French* expected that this fleet would have actually proceeded to the *Mediterranean*; and it was to confirm them in this belief, we had demanded the free uſe of the *Spaniſh* harbours: but this was only to conceal things, and to gain an opportunity of ſending a ſquadron early to the *Weſt-Indies*, without putting it in the power of the *French* to gain any exact account of its ſtrength: the admiral, after performing this, cruized according to his inſtructions for ſome time, and then returned with the largeſt ſhips into the *Downs* [d].

AFTER this fleet was ſent to ſea, his majeſty thought proper to revoke his letters patent to the commiſſioners of the *Admiralty*, and to appoint the right honourable *Thomas* earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, lord high admiral of *England* and *Ireland*, and of the foreign plantations. The deſign of this promotion was, to be rid of the diſadvantages attending a board: and this end it anſwered perfectly well; for his lordſhip immediately ſent away captain *Edmund Loades* to *Cadiz*, to bring home the ſea ſtores, and the mer-

[d] Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, &c. theſe people ſeem to find fault with ſir George Rooke, on account of his doing little while he was at ſea with ſo great a fleet. But the merit of this admiral was, that he always knew, and did what was to be done. This was a fleet of amuſement, the war was not declared, and therefore, the longer ſir George could keep the French and their allies in ſuſpence, the greater ſervice he did; though, without this key, haſty people might miſtake the thing and believe he did no ſervice at all.

merchants effects, before the war broke out; as alſo two hulks that had been left in that harbour from the time of the laſt war, for the greater conveniency of careening our ſhips which remained in that port. This the captain with his ſmall ſquadron, conſiſting but of three frigates, effectually performed. His lordſhip alſo took the like care of our trade in all other parts; and by his extraordinary prudence, remarkable patience, and being very eaſy of acceſs, gave much more ſatisfaction to merchants and to the officers of the fleet, than any of the boards of *Admiralty*, ſince they were firſt introduced, had ever done. Indeed his lordſhip's merit and ſucceſs in this arduous employment, was ſo conſpicuous and ſo univerſally acknowledged, that it is not eaſy to underſtand upon what principles the management of the fleet was changed in the enſuing year, except that it might be thought neceſſary to raiſe prince *George* of *Denmark* to that dignity that he might appear to have a principal concern in adviſing and managing affairs; which, however, was in this reſpect but very little to his royal highneſs's advantage, as will be ſhewn in our account of tranſactions under the next reign [e].

THE war was now the great object of our councils, as well as thoſe of *France*, though hitherto it was not declared,

[e] This is a ſtrong proof of king William's juſtice and good ſenſe. Many of the enemies of that prince have remarked, that he introduced here the Dutch cuſtom of boards, by putting all great offices into commiſſion; but hitherto, no body has remarked, that when he reſolved to enter into a ſecond general war, he very prudently and honeſtly altered this method in the navy, by appointing a lord high admiral: which ſhews, that he was more intent on the nation's being well ſerved at ſea, than on his miniſters being well ſupported in the houſe of commons.

clared, and negotiations ſtill were carried on in *Holland* as if both parties had inclined to an amicable determination of their differences; which was, however, the intention of neither. The expectation of a rupture made our ſea-officers exceedingly alert, and put them upon ſhewing their mettle ſometimes a little too much. For inſtance, the marquiſs of *Caermarthen*'s yatcht fired upon a *French* ſhip in the harbour of *Rotterdam*, to oblige her to ſtrike, which ſhe did immediately. The commander of the yatcht not ſatisfied with this, ſent for the maſter of the *French* veſſel on board, and obliged him to pay twelve livres for the ſhot. This was complained of by count *D'Avaux*, the *French* miniſter, in very high terms; and it is very probable, that the ſtates would have expreſſed their diſlike of it at another ſeaſon, but things were then in ſuch a ſituation, that it was not thought proper to animadvert on theſe accidents, whatever might have been thought of them at another time. The *States* indeed were obliged to unite themſelves cloſer than ever to *Great Britain*, ſince their ſafety, as well as ours, depended on the force of this alliance, as that did on our union f.

In

f This ſteadineſs of the ſtates was chiefly owing to their confidence in king William; which, without queſtion, induced them to enter into this long and dangerous war, though they were ſo much exhauſted by the former. His majeſty, no doubt, preſſed them to it, becauſe he thought it their intereſt, as it really was, and ours too. Yet, ſuch has been the violence of parties, that the Tories here have charged king William with making us principals in this war, to ſerve the Dutch, while the patriots in Holland, have loaded his memory with the imputation of ſacrificing the intereſt of the republic to thoſe of his three kingdoms. It is hard to ſay, which is moſt wonderful, the wiſdom and integrity of the king, or the ingratitude of the people in both countries.

In the midſt of theſe preparations, however, care was taken of a point which nearly concerned trade, and that was the uniting the two *Eaſt-India* companies; which was done under an act of arbitration, wherein lord *Godolphin* and mr. *Harley*, afterwards earl of *Oxford*, were for the old company, and lord *Halifax* for the new. By this inſtrument it was agreed, that the old company's ſtock in the funds, ſhould be transferred to the new, and that the old company ſhould purchaſe of the new as much of their ſtock as, with that which was transferred by the old, ſhould make up a moiety of the whole capital of the united companies. The old company were likewiſe to give an equivalent for the new company's dead ſtock. During ſeven years, each company was to have an equal power in the adminiſtration of the fund and trade: and to that end twelve perſons were to be yearly appointed by the general courts of each company reſpectively, who were to be ſtiled, *Managers of the united trade to* India; and after theſe ſeven years were expired, the old company were to ſurrender their charters, and the new company was thenceforward to change its ſtile, and to be called, *the united company of merchants trading to the* Eaſt-Indies: and this agreement was the foundation of that company which has ſubſiſted with ſo great credit to themſelves, and benefit to the nation, ever ſince [g].

One of the laſt acts of king *William*'s adminiſtration was a ſolemn meſſage to the lower houſe of parliament, in relation to a union between *England* and *Scotland*, in which he ſaid, "he ſhould eſteem it a peculiar felicity, if during his reign ſome happy expedient, for making both kingdoms one, might take place; and therefore he was extreamly deſirous a treaty for this purpoſe might be ſet on foot,

g Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, Burnet, Oldmixon, life of king William, &c.

foot, which he therefore recommended in the moſt earneſt manner to the houſe of commons." In compliance with this meſſage, the houſe did appoint a day to conſider of the propoſition contained therein; but the death of the king prevented their coming to any reſolution. Before this happened, however, they reſolved that forty thouſand men ſhould be granted for the ſervice of the fleet in the enſuing year, and ſhewed ſuch an inclination to enter heartily into all meaſures neceſſary to render the grand alliance effectual towards the ends for which it was made, that the *French*, who little expected that ſuch a ſpirit would be ſhewn in this parliament, were much ſurprized, as eaſily fore-ſeeing that the new war would diſtreſs them much more than the old had ever done, becauſe it was like to be better managed [h].

His extraordinary attention to buſineſs is thought to have haſtened the king's deceaſe, which happened on the eighth of *March*, 1701-2, about eight in the morning. He died, as he lived, with great ſteadineſs of mind, and ſhewed himſelf, in his laſt moments, as much a hero as he had ever done in the field. I ought now to ſay ſomewhat of this prince's character, and to ſum up all with a general view of the principal events in his reign; but as I have already treated very copiouſly of ſuch as have any affinity with the principal deſign of this work, and as the fame of king *William* III. ſtands in no need of my feeble aſſiſtance,

I

[h] I do not take this upon the credit of Larrey and other hiſterians of his rank, but from the beſt French memoirs that I have met with; in which it is confeſſed, that their court was deceived by the ſtrong aſſurances given them by the late king's party, who, to do them juſtice, were in all probability deceived themſelves.

I ſhall content myſelf with ſaying, that never any prince better underſtood the general intereſt of *Europe*, or purſued it with greater firmneſs; and that whatever unlucky accidents fell out in his reign to the prejudice of our affairs, were not ſo much owing to any miſtakes in his conduct, as to the circumſtances of the times, our own unfortunate diviſions, and the fatal conſequences of both[1].

THE only thing now left to be performed, before we proceed to another chapter, is the collecting, as far as the ſlender memoirs that have come to our hands will allow, ſome account of the moſt eminent ſeamen who died in this reign; and in treating of theſe the reader is deſired to remember, that no party is eſpouſed; that every man is conſidered as a perſon of worth and honour, ſo far as he purſued his principles, and was juſt to the prince he ſerved, and faithful to the intereſt of his country. By the help of this neceſſary and well-founded diſtinction, we ſhall be able to do ſtrict juſtice to all thoſe brave men who expoſed their lives in their country's ſervice at ſea, of what party ſoever they were, or were reputed; which however hath been ſeldom done in a work of this kind, where, generally ſpeaking, the heroes are all on one ſide, and there are none but indifferent people on the other. Whereas in truth there is no foundation for ſuch characters, honeſt and brave

[1] The reader, if he is inclined to purſue this ſubject farther, may conſult Kennet, Burnet, Oldmixon, the life of king William, &c. where he will often find that flattery is as dangerous to the reputation of a prince, as prejudice itſelf. Some writers, out of pure zeal, would make king William more than man; and others, blinded by malice refuſe to ſee what his actions made viſible to all the world, that he was one of the greateſt men, and one of the wiſeſt princes in every reſpect, of the age in which he lived.

men being found alike on both ſides, though they have ſometimes had the misfortune to be hated and defamed by ſuch, as have leſs regard to merit than opinion, and who thought it excuſable to raiſe a clamour againſt a great man in an oppoſite intereſt, though they were ſenſible this clamour ſprung from prejudice, and not any love to juſtice. Theſe reflections I thought neceſſary, to prevent the reader's being ſurprized by what he meets with in the following pages, wherein I have as much diſregarded the common cry, as I have been careful, by an accurate compariſon of facts, to come as near in every inſtance as I could, to the naked truth, which when diſcovered, I have neither exaggerated nor concealed.

MEMOIRS of *GEORGE LEGGE*, Baron of *Dartmouth*, &c.

IF remarkable loyalty, and a ſteady adherence to the intereſt of the prince who raiſed him, joined with all the abilities requiſite to fill the many high employments he poſſeſſed, ought to render the memory of a man valuable to poſterity, then the memoirs of lord *Dartmouth* deſerve our utmoſt attention. For he was, even in the opinion of ſuch as were not his friends, one of the ableſt and beſt men of the age in which he lived; or, to expreſs it in the words of a writer who ought always to meet with credit when he ſpeaks well of the dead, *the worthieſt nobleman of the court of king* James II.[a] to whoſe fortunes he adhered, though he

[a] The author mentioned in the text is biſhop Burnet, whoſe character of this noble lord, is to be found towards the end of his firſt volume. What he ſays of him is ſo juſt and generous, that it deſerves the reader's notice. That prelate, ſpeaking of

he had always oppoſed the councils which were the cauſes of his diſtreſs.

THE family of *Legge* came over hither from *Italy*, where to this day the eldeſt branch are nobles of *Venice* [b]. Here in *England* there are two flouriſhing families of this name; one in *Herefordſhire*, the other ſettled at *Legge's-Place* near *Tunbridge* in *Kent*, from whom the preſent earls of *Dartmouth* are lineal deſcendants, as coming in a direct line from *Thomas Legge*, of that place, who was ſheriff of *London* in 1343, twice lord mayor, and twice repreſentative for the city in parliament [c]. In the reign of *Henry* VII. the family ſettled in *Ireland*, where *Edward Legge*, eſq; was vice-preſident of *Munſter*, and died in the year 1616, leaving behind him a very numerous poſterity, *viz.* ſix ſons and ſeven daughters, all of them diſtinguiſhed by their great merit, and ſeveral of the daughters eſpecially, by living to a very extraordinary age; *Elizabeth*, the eldeſt, to 105; *Margaret*, who married mr. *Fitz-Gerald*, to upwards of an 100, and *Anne*, the wife of *William Anthony*, eſq; who died in 1702, aged 112 [d]. But let us now return to the perſon whoſe actions we are to record. HE

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of the uneaſineſs king James was under, on the fitting out of the Dutch fleet in 1688, and of the preparations he made for the defending himſelf, proceeds thus. "He recalled Strickland, and gave the command to the lord Dartmouth; who "was indeed one of the worthieſt men of his court. He loved "him, and had been long in his ſervice, and in his confidence; "but was much againſt all the conduct of his affairs: Yet he "reſolved to ſtick to him at all hazards." [b] Hiſt. de Veniſe, par le Sieur Amelot, de la Houſſai, Tom. ii. [c] See Stow's Survey of London, in the years 1346 and 1353. As to his being in parliament for the city, I have that in a MSS. liſt of members for London, in which it appears he was choſen in 1349 and 1352. [d] Theſe particulars are chiefly collected from memoirs of the family; though they are likewiſe confirmed by ſeveral monumental inſcriptions.

He was the eldeſt ſon of the famous colonel *William Legge*, groom of the bed-chamber to king *Charles* I. and a moſt conſtant follower of all his fortunes. Soon after the reſtoration his father thought proper to ſend him to ſea, under the care of that great and gallant admiral, ſir *Edward Spragge*, in the firſt *Dutch* war in 1665, when Mr. *Legge* was barely ſeventeen *. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in all the actions of that and the ſucceeding year, by ſuch remarkable teſtimonies of conduct as well as courage, that, in thoſe days when naval preferments were earned before they were enjoyed, he was without envy raiſed to the command of the *Pembroke*, in 1667, when he was yet ſhort of twenty, a preferment which did him as much honour as any he afterwards obtained †.

After the peace, he applied himſelf aſſiduouſly to the ſtudy of the mathematicks, eſpecially to ſuch branches of that extenſive ſcience as have relation to the military art: and having attained to great skill as an engineer, he was employed by his majeſty in that character, and in 1669 ſucceeded his father in the command of an independant company of foot. In 1671, he was made captain of the *Fairfax*, and in 1672, of the *royal Catherine*, in which he ſerved with the higheſt reputation, having beat the *Dutch* out who boarded her while ſhe was ſinking, and after he had ſtopped her leaks, brought her ſafe into harbour; in which deſperate ſervice he received ſeveral wounds. In acknowledgment of this and other marks of military virtue ſhewn

* The reaſon of his going to ſea under ſir Edward Spragge was, becauſe of his near relation to the Legge family, his mother, being ſecond ſiſter to colonel William Legge, this gentleman's father. † This, and ſeveral other particulars, are taken from the family memoirs.

ſhewn in that memorable year, he was, towards the end of it, made lieutenant governor of *Portſmouth*, under his royal highneſs *James*, duke of *York*; in 1673, he was made governor of that place, and at the ſame time maſter of the horſe, and gentleman of the bed-chamber to the duke a.

In 1677 he was added as an aſſiſtant in the board of *Ordnance*, with a ſalary of 300 *l. per Annum*; and the ſame year was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general of the *Ordnance*, and had alſo a regiment of foot beſtowed upon him. Theſe extraordinary marks of royal favour were ſoon followed by ſtill greater teſtimonies of eſteem and confidence, for in 1681 he was ſworn of the privy council to king *Charles* II. and in 1682 had a ſpecial commiſſion to review all the forts and garriſons throughout the kingdom of *England*, and was alſo conſtituted and appointed commander in chief. On the ſecond of *December*, in the ſame year, he was, by letters patent, raiſed to the dignity of a peer of this realm, by the title of baron of *Dartmouth*, in the county of *Devon*. With remainder, in caſe of failure of his iſſue male, to his brother *William Legge*, eſq; and his iſſue; and in the preamble of the patent, his own, and his father's ſervices, are very juſtly and gratefully acknowledged b.

In

a See the memoirs of the Dutch war, p. 119. b The preamble of this patent recites, "That his majeſty remembring the great merits of William Legge, one of the grooms of the royal bed-chamber to his late father king Charles the firſt, eſpecially in that unparallel'd rebellion raiſed againſt him, in which, being a perſon of ſingular skill and experience in military affairs, as alſo a valiant and expert commander, he faithfully ſerved him in moſt of the battles and ſieges of thoſe unhappy times: Alſo performed ſeveral eminent ſervices to the ſaid king, ſince his moſt happy reſtoration. And further, conſidering that George Legge, eldeſt "ſon

In 1683, the king finding it impoſſible to ſupport the garriſon of *Tangier* out of his own revenue, and having little hopes of obtaining any ſupply for that purpoſe from a parliament (his laſt having ſhewn a remarkable diſlike to the keeping up of forces there) reſolved, notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums it had coſt him in fortifying the place, and in building a mole, which rendered the port both convenient and ſafe, to deſtroy the whole, and to bring back the troops he had there into *England*. The management of this affair required great ſecrecy, and much conduct in the commander in chief, and this probably determined the king to make uſe of lord *Dartmouth*, who was appointed governor of *Tangier*, and general of his majeſty's forces in *Africa*, as well as admiral of the fleet, in order to enable him to execute his inſtructions, which he did very exactly and effectually; ſo that on his return home, the king was pleaſed to make him a grant of 10,000 *l.* as a reward for that ſervice, beſides other acknowledgments[i].

Upon the acceſſion of king *James* II. his lordſhip met with all the teſtimonies of royal favour and friendſhip which his many ſervices, and unſpotted fidelity to that prince, deſerved;

" ſon of the ſaid William, following his father's ſteps in di-
" vers military employments, eſpecially in ſundry ſharp and
" dangerous naval fights, wherein he did freely hazard his life
" for which reſpect being made general of the ordnance and
" artillery, and one of his moſt honourable privy council, his
" majeſty thought fit to dignify him with ſome further honour,
" &c."

[i] Particularly a grant of a fair to be held twice a year, and a market twice a week, upon Blackheath, in the pariſh of Lewiſham, in the county of Kent. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the great difficulty in executing his commiſſion in Tangier, was, to blow up all the works there, without expoſing the garriſon to the Moors; which ſervice he performed with equal caution and ſucceſs.

ſerved; for he not only continued him in all the offices he then poſſeſſed, but raiſed him alſo to poſts of ſtill greater conſequence, ſo that he was at once maſter of the horſe to the king, general of the *Ordnance*, conſtable of the *Tower* of *London*, captain of an independant company of foot, and one of the privy-council. Theſe employments he executed with ſo great diligence and reputation, that he ſtood as high in the favour of the people, as he did in that of his prince, and was always conſidered as the greateſt encourager of merit, and the moſt upright man in the adminiſtration of public affairs, that the age produced. He preſerved the affection and confidence of his maſter to the laſt, and yet he was ſo far from giving in to the king's fatal inclinations to popery and arbitrary government, that he oppoſed all councils looking either way, with much firmneſs and freedom, though he took care to reſtrain all his remonſtrances within the juſt bounds of duty and decency k.

In 1687, king *James* making a ſhort progreſs, and lord *Dartmouth* attending him therein, at *Coventry* the city preſented his majeſty with a large gold cup and cover, which he immediately gave to his lordſhip, and that too with a compliment as generous and as acceptable as the preſent. "I would have your lordſhip, ſaid he, receive this cup "and cover, as a mark of the city of *Coventry*'s concern "for the ſufferings of your father in it." For in the time of the civil wars, old colonel *William Legge* had remained long a priſoner in *Coventry* goal, after being taken at the battle of *Worceſter* l.

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k Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

l This ſtory of his father's ſufferings at Coventry, certainly deſerves the reader's notice; and therefore, not to be wanting either to his entertainment, or to the illuſtration of the hiſtory,

WHEN it was abſolutely certain that the prince of *Orange* intended to invade *England*, king *James* ſaw the neceſſity of employing ſome more conſiderable perſon than ſir *Roger Strickland*, who had hitherto commanded the fleet, and whoſe being a *Papiſt*, though it recommended him to that truſt, rendered him very diſagreeable to the ſeamen. In this ſituation of things, his majeſty certainly made a very proper choice of lord *Dartmouth*, for the important office of admiral, ſince no man had greater abilities, ſcarce any ſo great an affection for his majeſty's perſon, or ſo hearty a zeal for his intereſt. His lordſhip was much beloved by the ſeamen, and ſo univerſally eſteemed by the ſeamen, and ſo univerſally eſteemed by the officers of the navy, that he very ſoon put his fleet in a poſture fit for ſervice; and though, as I have ſhewn elſewhere, it has been ſtrongly reported, that his lordſhip declined fighting the *Dutch* fleet, yet it is certain that it was never in his power; and that, if it had, both he and his officers would have performed what they took to be their duty. But after being ſeverely ruſled by a ſtorm, the fleet was forced into

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hiſtory, I ſubjoin it here. The great ſhare colonel William Legge had in the favour of king Charles I. made him ſo obnoxious to the rump, that they intended to have executed him, as they did the earl of Derby, for being in arms againſt them; and with that view, they confined him in Coventry goal. His lady knowing their cruelty, and having tried all her intereſt with the people in power, in vain, at laſt contrived a very artful method for making his eſcape, which was as ſucceſsfully executed. With this view, ſhe hired an old woman to lend him her cloaths which he put on, and having a cloſe-ſtool-pan well filled between his hands, the ſmell kept the keepers at ſuch a diſtance, that he walked fairly off, without their making any enquiries. After the murder of king Charles I. he was much about the perſon of the duke of York, which inſpired his majeſty with a great tenderneſs for him and all his family.

to *Portſmouth*, where his lordſhip quitted the command to ſir *John Berry*, and returned to *London*. [m]. After the revolution, lord *Dartmouth* lived quietly, and ſubmitted to the new government; yet was always ſuſpected to retain his old ſentiments for the perſon who had been ſo long, and withal ſo kind a maſter. For this reaſon, and on account of ſome ſuggeſtions that he carried on a ſecret correſpondence with the abdicated king, he was committed priſoner to the *Tower* of *London*. While he continued there, ſome rumours flew abroad of his being ill treated, which had ſuch an effect on the ſailors, who loved him as their father, that they aſſembled in great bodies on *Tower-Hill*, where they expreſſed their reſentments in ſuch language, that it was at length found expedient to deſire lord *Dartmouth* to confer with them; and on his aſſuring them that the report they had heard was void of any foundation, they gave a chearful huzza, and diſperſed immediately.

It is thought, however, that his confinement, and the want of his uſual exerciſe, might contribute to the ſhortening his days; for on the twenty firſt of *October*, 1691, he was ſeized with an apoplexy, which put an end to his life, in the forty fourth year of his age [n].

His relations applied themſelves, on his deceaſe, to the conſtable of the *Tower*, then lord *Lucas*, for leave to remove

[m] In the ſecond volume, we have already given ſo full an account of this affair, that it would be tedious to add any thing more here, except that lord Dartmouth laid down his command as ſoon as he came on ſhore; and when he could not act for his majeſty, would not, as another favourite did, act againſt him. [n] King James received the news of his death with great concern, and ſaid with a deep ſigh, then faithful Will. Legg's honeſt ſon George is dead! I have few ſuch ſervants now!

move his body in order to its interment; which his lordſhip ſcrupled, without receiving expreſs directions from the king. But upon application made to his majeſty, he not only ordered, that the body ſhould be immediately delivered to his lordſhip's relations, but upon his being informed, that they intended to bury it near the remains of his father, in the *Little Minories* church, in a vault belonging to his family, his majeſty gave further orders, that all ſuch marks of reſpect ſhould be paid at his funeral, as would have been due to him, if he had died poſſeſſed of all his employments. Which is a circumſtance equally honourable to the memory of king *William* and lord *Dartmouth*, ſince it ſhews impartiality and greatneſs of ſoul in the former, and the true merit of the latter, which produced ſuch a teſtimony of reſpect from ſo penetrating a judge[o].

A monument of white marble, adorned with a proper inſcription, was erected to the memory of his lordſhip, by his conſort *Barbara*, baroneſs of *Dartmouth*, who was the daughter of ſir *Henry Archbold*, of *Staffordſhire*, who died in 1718, and lies buried there by him[p].

His lordſhip had by her an only ſon *William*, who is at preſent earl of *Dartmouth*, ſo created by her majeſty queen *Anne*, in the tenth year of her reign. His lordſhip had alſo the honour of being ſecretary of ſtate, and afterwards lord privy-ſeal in the ſame reign, and diſcharged both thoſe high offices with that integrity hereditary in his

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[o] This is taken from the memoirs of the family. [p] The inſcription is very long, otherwiſe we ſhould have inſerted it, and his lordſhip's memory too freſh, to make this paſs for an indifferent excuſe.

lordſhip's noble family, and which has been for many years no leſs conſpicuous in his private life.

MEMOIRS of Sir JOHN BERRY, Knt. REAR-ADMIRAL of *England*.

THERE cannot be a ſtronger teſtimony of real merit, than a man's ſurmounting by his ſpirit and diligence a long ſeries of croſſes and misfortunes, and thereby forcing himſelf as it were into an eaſier ſituation, and by degrees into a condition worthy his deſert. Fortitude in ſuffering is a virtue no leſs honourable than courage in atchieving, and the diſtreſſes of heroes, like the ſhades in a fine picture, beſtow a graceful aſſiſtance on the brighter parts of the piece, and thereby conſiderably heighten its beauties. This obſervation cannot more fully be illuſtrated, than it will be by the account we are to give of the life and actions of Sir *John Berry*, who (without any aſſiſtance, other than reſulted from the admiration of his courage and conduct) arrived at the dignity of rear-admiral of *England*, and ſhared the confidence of three ſucceeding kings.

THE family of the *Berry*'s in *Devonſhire* were ſeated at *Berry-Nerber*, near *Ilfarcomb*, where they had flouriſhed for ſome hundreds of years[a]. But the father of our gallant ſea-officer was never in any extraordinary circumſtances. He owed his reputation, which

[a] Pole's ſurvey of Devonſhire, MS. This village lies in Branton hundred in the middle between Combe-Merton, and Ilfarcomb, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea, and about twenty-ſeven miles from Exeter.

ſtill ſubſiſts in his county, not to the goods of fortune, but to his learning and abilities; and above all to his courage and loyalty. He was a clergyman, and vicar of *Knoweſton* and *Molland* in that county, where he diſcharged his duty with equal fidelity to the church, and to the ſtate. For this, the ſaints of thoſe times not only turned him out of his livings, but plundered his houſe, and took even his bed from under him; all which they ſold by public auction, except his books, which being a large and valuable collection, they to ſhew their moderation and generoſity, beſtowed them upon an independant preacher. Soon after this, the truly reverend mr. *Daniel Berry* died of grief and want, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and left behind him a widow, *Elizabeth*, daughter of *John Moore*, of *Moorbays*, eſq; and nine ſmall children, of which ſeven were ſons and two daughters [b].

THE eldeſt, *Robert*, betook himſelf to the ſea, where he proſpered very well. The ſecond, *John*, of whom we are to ſpeak, and who was born in his father's vicarage-houſe at *Knoweſton*, in the year 1635, being at the good old man's death about ſeventeen years old, went to *Plymouth*, where he bound himſelf apprentice to mr. *Robert Mering*, a merchant in that town, and part-owner in ſeveral Ships. He went to ſea in his ſervice, and was extreamly unfortunate in ſetting out, being twice taken by the *Spaniards*, and ſuffering a long impriſonment, which however did him no great hurt in the main. On his return to *England*, he

[b] Moſt of theſe particulars are taken from a monument erected in the year 1684, by ſir John Berry, to the memory of his father. His two churches of Knoweſton and Molland were not above two miles aſunder, lying both in Moulton hundred, at the diſtance of about eighteen miles from Exeter.

found his maſter in very bad circumſtances; which however was no prejudice to him, for in a ſhort time after mr. *Mering* told him, that having now no further occaſion for his ſervice, he would, in reward of his paſt diligence, give him the remainder of his time; which he did freely c.

MR. *Berry*, thus at large and at liberty to act for himſelf, immediately came up to *London*, where, by the help of ſome friends, he was preferred to be a boatſwain of a ketch belonging to the royal navy, called the *Swallow*, which, under the Command of Captain *Inſam*, was ordered to the *Weſt-Indies*, in company with two of his majeſty's Frigates, both of which were loſt in the gulph of *Florida*; but the *Swallow*, by cutting down her maſts, and heaving her guns over-board and alſo her proviſions, got clear, and in the ſpace of ſixteen weeks, during which they had nothing to eat but the Fiſh they caught, or to drink but rain-water, they arrived at *Campeachy*. There they furniſhed themſelves with proviſions, and then ſailed for *Jamaica*, where they arrived in three weeks d.

SIR *Thomas Muddiford*, who was a native of *Devonſhire* as well as mr. *Berry*, was then governor of that iſland, and he ordered the *Swallow* to be refitted, put eight guns on board her, and having intelligence that a pirate, who had taken one mr. *Peach*, bound from *Southampton* to *Jamaica*,

c The particulars mentioned in this life, were moſt of them collected by mr. Daniel Berry, brother to the admiral; but as he wrote at a conſiderable diſtance of time, he often omits dates, and ſometimes miſtakes them. d It was not eaſy to fix the time of mr Berry's firſt voyage to the Weſt-Indies; but probably it was in the year 1661.

maica, and marooned him and all his crew, was ſtill in thoſe ſeas, he ordered the *Swallow*, now well victualled and manned to put to ſea in queſt of her, and gave his countryman *Berry* the title of lieutenant. In three weeks after they ſailed from *Jamaica*, they found the pirate at anchor in a bay off the iſland of *Hiſpaniola*. He had about ſixty men and twenty guns; whereas the *Swallow* had but forty men and eight ſmall guns. Captain *Inſam* having conſidered the enemy's ſtrength and compared it with his own, called up all his men, and addreſſed them in theſe words: *Gentlemen, the blades we are to attack are men at arms, old* Buccaneers, *and ſuperior to us in number, and in the force of their ſhip, and therefore I would have your opinion, whether*—*Sir*, interrupted lieutenant *Berry*, *we are men at arms too, and, which is more, honeſt men, and fight under the king's commiſſion; and if you have no ſtomach for fighting, be pleaſed to walk down into your cabbin.* The crew applauded this motion, and declared, one and all, for captain *Berry*; who undertook this affair with great diſadvantage. The pirate rode at anchor to the windward, by which the *Swallow* was obliged to make two trips under her lee, in which ſhe received two broadſides, and two volleys of ſmall ſhot, without returning a gun. Mr. *Berry* then boarded her on the bow, pouring in his broadſide, which killed the pirate twenty-two men on the ſpot: They then fought their way to the main-maſt, where they called to the doctor and his mate to get over board, and hang by the rudder; which they did, and ſoon after the pirate was taken, having only ſeven men left, and thoſe all wounded, though they lived long enough to be hanged afterwards in *Jamaica*; and, which is ſtill more remarkable, there

was no body killed on board the *Swallow*, but the boatſwain's mate [e].

ON their return to *Jamaica*, captain *Inſam* confined his lieutenant, and brought him to a court-martial; where, on the evidence of the men, the court declared he had done his duty, and ordered the captain to live peaceably with him in their voyage to *England*; which he did, and mr. *Berry* behaved towards him with all imaginable modeſty and ſubmiſſion.

IN a ſhort time after he came home, the *Dutch* war broke out, and mr. *Berry* had a ſloop given him, called the *Maria*, of fourteen guns, with the king's commiſſion. He held this ſmall command for about four months, in which ſpace he took thirty-two prizes; and, for his extraordinary diligence, had the command given him of the *Coronation*, a hired ſhip of war of fifty-ſix guns.

IN this ſhip he was ſoon after ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, where our colonies were in no ſmall danger, as having both the *French* and *Dutch* upon their Hands. On his arrival at *Barbadoes*, the governor bought ſome large merchant-ſhips, converted them into men of war, and having made up nine ſail, including the *Coronation*, manned, and put them under the command of commodore *Berry*. With this little fleet he ſailed for *Nevis*, in order to protect it from the *French*, who had already made themſelves maſters of St. *Chriſtopher's*, *Antigua*, and *Mountſerrat*. He was ſcarce arrived, before he had intelligence, that the *French*

[e] Theſe particulars are preſerved in the MS. accounts of his brother's atchievements, written by mr. Berry; and I find the principal facts confirmed in an account of the moſt remarkable paſſage under lord Windſor, ſir Thomas Muddiford and ſir Thomas Lynch, ſucceſſively governors of Jamaica.

were preparing at St. *Chriſtopher's* a very great force which was intended for the conqueſt of *Nevis*. They had twenty-two men of war, and frigates, ſix large tranſport-ſhips of their own, and four *Dutch*. With theſe they ſailed towards *Nevis*, as to a certain victory. Commodore *Berry* ſailed with his nine ſhips to meet them; and as he turned the point of the iſland, one of his beſt ſhips blew up, which ſtruck his men with aſtoniſhment. *Now you have ſeen an* Engliſh *ſhip blow up*, ſaid the commodore, *let us try if we can't blow up* Frenchmen. *There they are, boys! and if we don't beat them, they will beat us.* Having ſaid this, he immediately began the fight with the *French* admiral, and, after a brisk engagement of upwards of thirteen hours, he forced this mighty fleet to fly for ſhelter under the cannon of St. *Chriſtopher's*, whither he purſued them, ſent in a fire-ſhip, and burnt the *French* admiral: ſeeing her in flames, he ſaid to his ſeamen, *I told you in the morning, that we ſhould burn a* Frenchman *before night; to-morrow we will try what we can do with the reſt.* But while he was refitting his ſhips, the enemy wiſely ſtole away; the *French* to *Martinico*, and the *Dutch* to *Virginia*[f]. Sir *John Harman* being ſent with a ſquadron to relieve

[f] We are in ſome meaſure enabled to fix the date of this enterprize, by the following remarkable paſſage, preſerved in the Philoſophical Tranſactions of the Royal Society. "On "the nineteenth of Auguſt, 1667, there was a terrible hurri-"cane in this iſland; at which time ſir John Berry, captain of "the Coronation man of war, was in the harbour, with that "and ſeveral other ſhips, of which one was commanded by "captain Langford, who having learnt ſome of the progno-"ſtics of a turnado, from a Charibbean, perceiving them, "he told ſir John and the other commanders of it; who de-"pending on his intelligence, made their ſhips ready for the ſea, "and

lieve him, commodore *Berry* returned to *England*, and ſerved with great honour in the channel, and in the *Mediterranean*.

IN the ſecond *Dutch* war (as it was called, though properly ſpeaking it was the third) he had the command of the *Reſolution*, a ſeventy gun ſhip, in which he was preſent in the famous action in *Southwold*-bay, on the twenty eighth of *May*, 1672. In this battle, the captain obſerving that his royal highneſs the duke of *York*, then lord high admiral of *England*, was very hard preſſed, he left his ſtation, and came in to his relief; where the ſervice proved ſo hot, that in leſs than two hours, he had no fewer than one hundred and twenty men killed, as many more wounded, and his ſhip ſcarce able to float: upon this he was towed out of the line, ſtopt his leaks, and fell into his place again in an hour, and there did ſuch ſervice, that when his majeſty came to meet the fleet, and dined on board the *Royal Sovereign* at the *Buoy in the Nore*, he, of his own motive, called for captain *Berry*, and having knighted him, ſaid very graciouſly, *As our thoughts have been now upon honour, we will hereafter think of profit; for I would not have ſo brave a man, a poor knight*[z].

" and in the morning, about four of the clock, the wind " coming very hard northerly, they put to ſea, and came all " back in four or five days time, ſafe to the road again. Cap- " tain Langford was aſhore, and being confident of the hur- " cane's coming, took ſuch care before-hand to ſecure his " ſugars, and goods, in the ſtore houſe, that when the hurri- " cane had carried away the roof of the houſe, all, except " one hogſhead of ſugar, remained ſafe." Lowthorp's abridgment, Vol. ii. p. 106.

[z] Catalogue of knights made by king Charles II.

In the year 1682, it was thought expedient to ſend the duke of *York* down to *Scotland*; and for this purpoſe the *Gloucester*-frigate, under the command of ſir *John Berry*, was ordered to be ready: and accordingly on the twenty eighth of *April*, the duke of *York* embarked on board that ſhip. In their paſſage, ſir *John* obſerved, on the third of *May*, when in the mouth of the *Humber*, as he apprehended, an error in the pilot's conduct, though he was looked upon as a man of great abilities in his employment. Of this he informed the duke, and deſired they might lye-to; at leaſt for that night; which the pilot oppoſed, and being a great favourite of the duke's, his advice prevailed. But his royal highneſs was ſoon convinced of the ſuperiority of ſir *John Berry*'s judgment, ſince in three quarters of an hour afterwards the ſhip was loſt, and about three hundred people in her, amongſt whom was ſome perſons of the firſt rank, and the duke himſelf narrowly eſcaped in the long-boat, ſir *John Berry* ſtanding with his ſword drawn in the ſtern of the boat, to hinder people from crouding in; which undoubtedly ſaved the duke, ſince a very few more would have overſet the long boat [h]. For the

[h] This accident happened by their ſtriking upon the ſand call'd the Lemon and Ore, ſixteen leagues from the mouth of the Humber. Two things were very remarkable, that the duke took extraordinary care of colonel John Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, and called him firſt into the boat. The other was, that the mariners aboard the ſinking veſſel, gave a loud huzza, when they ſaw the duke in ſafety. Biſhop Burnet's account of this matter, is too remarkable to be forgot. "The duke, ſays he, got into a boat, and took care of his "dogs, and ſome unknown perſons who were taken, from "that earneſt care of his, to be his prieſts. The long boat "went off with very few in her, though ſhe might have car-"ried

the loſs of this ſhip, ſir *John*, according to the rules of the navy, was tried by a court-martial; but it appearing clearly to have happened through another man's fault, he was not only acquitted, but continued ſtill in as great favour as ever, both with the king and duke, who frequently conſulted him as to the management of the navy.

WHEN a reſolution was taken in 1683, to blow up *Tangier*, and a conſiderable fleet was ſent thither under the command of lord *Dartmouth*, ſir *John Berry* was made choice of to be his vice-admiral, and had the ſole command of the fleet, while his lordſhip was on ſhore, directing the blowing up of the works. In this critical expedition, ſir *John* gave ſuch remarkable teſtimonies of his courage and conduct, and took ſuch care in bringing off all the *Engliſh*, and their effects, that upon his return home, he was made a commiſſioner of the navy; in which poſt he continued to the day of his death [i].

UNDER the reign of king *James* II. he was in as high favour, as he could deſire, the king conſtantly conſulting him in matters relating to the management of the fleet, and he was one of the commiſſioners called in on that great reform of the navy mentioned in the cloſe of our laſt volume, and had the chief hand in bringing things into that exquiſite

"ried off above eighty more than ſhe did. One hundred and "fifty perſons periſhed, ſome of them men of great quality." The Glouceſter frigate, was a ſhip of forty guns, there were upwards of fifty perſons ſaved with the duke, and that eighty more ſhould be able to go into her long boat, is a fact that will gain but little credit at Wapping. Beſides, the keeping the people out, was ſir John Berry's act, and if there had been any ſuch circumſtances of cruelty, one can ſcarce believe the ſailors would have teſtified ſo much joy at his royal highneſs's eſcape.

[i] Memoirs of the lord Dartmouth, cited in the former life.

ſite order, in which they were found when the king withdrew to *France* [k]. He was not, however, conſidered ſolely as a commiſſioner, and as a man no longer fit for active employment; for, when it was known that the *Dutch* meditated an invaſion, and a fleet was fitted out to defend our coaſts, ſir *John Berry* was appointed vice-admiral, and hoiſted his flag on board the *Elizabeth*, a third Rate, the admiral, lord *Dartmouth*, being in the *Reſolution*, and the rear-admiral, lord *Berkley*, of *Stratton*, firſt in the *Montague*, and then in the *Edgar*. After the landing of the prince of *Orange*, when lord *Dartmouth* thought fit to leave the fleet, the ſole command of it devolved on ſir *John Berry*, who held it until it was laid up [l].

THE change of the government, wrought none in the condition of our admiral. An experienced officer, and a man of honour, will be a welcome ſervant to every prince. King *William* was one who valued abilities, and underſtood them, and therefore he often ſent for ſir *John Berry*, to confer with him on naval affairs; and once particularly the king engaged with him in ſo cloſe and earneſt a converſation, that it took up the whole night, and ſir *John* was not diſmiſſed the royal cloſet, until it was pretty far advanced in the morning [m]. Yet this favour brought him no acceſſion either of poſt or profit; he kept what he had, and probably thought that ſufficient, being commiſſioner of the navy, governor of *Deal Caſtle*, and captain of an independant company. We now haſten to the laſt ſcene of his life, over which ſuch a curtain has been drawn, as leaves it not in our power to let in the light. He was ordered,

[k] Memoirs relating to the ſtate of the royal navy of England, by Samuel Pepys, eſq; p. 52. [l] Kennet, Burnet, Burchet, Oldmixon, &c. [m] From the memoirs before-mentioned.

in the beginning of the month of *February*, 1691, to *Portſmouth*, to pay off ſome ſhips there; and while he was employed in the diſcharge of this office on board one of them, he was ſuddenly taken ill, and thereupon carried on ſhore to *Portſmouth*; where, in three or four days, it was given out that he died of a fever; but, upon opening his body, it appeared clearly to the phyſicians and ſurgeons, who were preſent, that he did not die a natural death, but that he had been diſpatched out of the world by poiſon; though by whom, or for what reaſon, never appeared, at leaſt it was never made public[n].

IN his private life, his wiſdom, beneficence, integrity, and unfeigned attachment to the church of *England*, were as conſpicious as his courage, and other military virtues, in his public character. So that he died equally lamented by all who knew him, either as a private gentleman, or as an *Engliſh* admiral. His corpſe, according to his own direction, was carried from *Portſmouth* to *London*, and decently interred in the chancel of *Stepney* church, where a noble monument is erected to his memory, all of white marble, adorned with his buſt in alabaſter. Over his head are the arms of his family, *viz.* in a field, *Gules*, three bars, *Or*; and on a white marble table underneath, the following inſcription.

" Ne id neſcias, lector, D. Johannes Berry, Devonienſis,
" dignitate equeſtri clarus, mari tantum non imperator, de
" rege & patriâ (quod & barbari norunt) bene meritus,
" magnam ob res fortiter geſtas adeptus gloriam famæ
" fatur, poſt multas reportatas victorias, cum ab aliis vinci
" non

[n] This gentleman might be ſaid to die in the flower of his age, if we conſider him as an admiral; ſince he was very little more than fifty ſix, when thus carried off.

" non potuit, fatis ceſſit 14 Feb. 1691, baptizatus 7 Jan. " 1635."

THE lady of ſir *John Berry* ſurvived him many years, but he left no iſſue by her; or, ſo far as I have been able to learn, ever had any [o].

MEMOIRS of *ARTHUR HERBERT*, baron *Herbert* of *Torbay*, earl of *Torrington*, and admiral and commander in chief of the fleet of *England*.

IT is the duty of hiſtorians to report things fairly, and to ſpeak of men impartially, without exaggerating their virtues or their vices, by exhibiting their characters to poſterity in that light in which, after the beſt enquiry they are able to make, they appear to themſelves: for as water never riſes higher than its ſource, ſo it is impoſſible that an author ſhould do more for his reader, than his talents and his informations will permit. The latter were ſo inconſiderable when this work was firſt written, that it was thought more expedient not to attempt a life of this noble perſon, than to repeat a few facts and dates ſo indifferently connected, as that it could not be preſumed they would give even the moſt indulgent peruſer any ſatisfaction. After much pains and ſearch, ſome better materials have been found; and as almoſt every remarkable tranſaction of this great man's life fell within the compaſs of king *William*'s reign, or at leaſt not much later, and is more or leſs allied to thoſe tranſactions of which we have been ſpeaking, it ſeemed more natural to place what we have to ſay of him here,

[o] This particular is likewiſe taken from his brother's memoirs.

here, than at the time of his death, when they could not fail of making an apparent breach in the order of our hiſtory.

He was the ſon of ſir *Edward Herbert*, of *London*, knight, of the noble family of *Herbert* of *Chirbury*, a branch of that of *Pembroke*, which ſuffering ſeverely for the loyalty of ſir *Edward*, obliged his ſons to think of making their fortunes by their induſtry and merit p. *Arthur*, the eldeſt, though he had a ſmall eſtate of his own, made the ſea his choice, as his younger brother, *Edward*, did the law; and both attained the higheſt ſtations, the latter becoming chief juſtice of the *King's-Bench* q, as well as the former admiral of the fleet of *England*. Our young ſeaman, immediately after the reſtoration, was much taken notice of by his royal highneſs *James* duke of *York*, by whoſe favour he was very early promoted to the command of one of his majeſty's ſhips of war; and in the firſt *Dutch* war, in the reign of *Charles* II. he commanded the *Pembroke* in the *Streights* r. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf there, according to the manner of thoſe times, in a very high degree, as appears from the following extract of a letter from *Cadiz*, dated in *March*, 1667, which I chuſe to give in the ſame plain and artleſs language in which it was wrote, rather than hazard any variation in the facts, by attempting to give it a better dreſs.

"Captain *Herbert*, in the *Pembroke*, is now in this "port, being newly returned from a freſh diſpute with a "*Zealand* man of war of thirty-four guns, and one hun-

"dred

p Peerage of England, vol. iii. p. 317. q Wood's Athen. Oxon, vol. ii. p. 992. r An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, &c. 1691. 4to.

" dred and eighty men, with whom he fought ſome days
" before in ſight of that bay, from two in the afternoon,
" till the night put an end to that day's work. All that
" night the *Pembroke* frigate carrying out a light for the
" *Zealander*, and the next morning, being to the wind-
" ward, fired a gun, and bore up to re-engage her; but
" the *Zealander*, being the nimbler ſailer, bore away once
" or twice before the wind, declining any farther diſpute,
" which the frigate perceiving, and fearing to be put to
" leeward of the port by a fruitleſs purſuit, the wind then
" blowing a ſtrong levant, came again for the bay, which
" the *Zealander* wanted not the confidence to boaſt of as
" a mark of his victory. Since this, the frigate being
" put aſhore to waſh and tallow, the *Zealander* made ſe-
" veral challenges, but went out again to ſea, before the
" frigate could get ready. Yeſterday morning the *Zea-*
" *lander* coming in, the frigate being ready, went out to
" meet him, and paſſed five times upon him within piſtol-
" ſhot, until the *Zealander* finding the ſervice too hot,
" bore in for the bay, purſued for along time by the fri-
" gate, which being unable to overtake him, fired her chaſe
" gun, and ſtood out again to ſea, the *Zealander* anſwer-
" ing her challenge with a friendly ſalute of three guns to
" leeward, but yet thought it convenient to put into the
" bay, where he triumphantly fired all his guns, leaving
" the *Pembroke* at ſea in vain attending him till the next
" morning. The captain of the *Zealander* afterwards came
" aſhore, endeavouring to perſwade the people that his
" main-maſt was diſabled, and that he wanted ſhot for
" his guns. In this diſpute the frigate had ſeven men
" killed, and five hurt, but none mortally, and her fore-

" maſt

"maſt ſomewhat diſabled, but will ſpeedily be refitted "and made ſerviceable."

He continued after this affair in the *Streights* for about ſix weeks, till he had advice that rear-admiral *Kempthorne*[s] was ſailed with his ſquadron for the *Streights*-mouth, where he took care to join him with a ſmall fleet of ſixteen or ſeventeen merchant-men under his convoy, in order to proceed with the rear-admiral to *England*. They met with nothing extraordinary in their paſſage, till about the middle of the month of *May*, when being off the iſland of *Portland*, the *Pembroke* ran foul of the *Fairfax* in the night, and ſunk at once; but captain *Herbert*, and moſt of his crew, were happily ſaved, there being none loſt in the veſſel but a few ſick men, who were not able to help themſelves, and whom the ſuddenneſs of the accident, and the confuſion every body was in, hindered being aſſiſted by others. After this narrow eſcape, captain *Herbert* went on board another ſhip of the ſquadron, and arrived ſafely at *Portſmouth*[t].

It was not long before he had another ſhip given him, and both in that, and in the ſecond *Dutch* war, he behaved upon all occaſions with great ſpirit and reſolution, receiving ſeveral wounds, and loſing the ſight of one of his eyes in his country's ſervice; all which conſidered, it muſt ſeem very ſtrange, that when he fell afterwards under misfortunes, his courage ſhould be diſputed. In one of the laſt ſea-fights in the ſecond *Dutch* war, he had the command of the *Cambridge*, in which ſir *Fretchville Hollis* had been killed in the battle of *Solebay*, and as captain *Herbert* ſucceeded in his command, he was very near ſucceeding

[s] See the Memoirs of admiral Kempthorne. [t] Monthly Intelligence, foreign and domeſtic, May 1667.

ing alſo to the ſame diſaſter, being deſperately wounded in the action, and his ſhip ſo diſabled, that, together with the *Reſolution*, which was in as bad a condition, ſhe was by prince *Rupert* ſent home to refit [u]. After that war was over, captain *Herbert* had leiſure to attend the court, and to ſolicit the rewards that were due to his ſervices, in which he met with all poſſible kindneſs from the duke of *York*, who, as he had been hitherto careful of his fortunes, thought himſelf obliged to aſſiſt him in his pretenſions, ſo that in the year 1680, or 1681, he was made rear admiral of the *Blue* [x]; and from that time was conſidered as a perſon who had as much probability of riſing as any in the ſervice. It was not long before an occaſion offered which juſtified this conjecture; for it being found neceſſary to ſend a ſupply of troops and military ſtores to *Tangier*, then in our hands, as alſo a ſquadron to curb the inſolence of the *Algerines*, who, notwithſtanding the treaties that had been concluded but a few years before, began again to diſturb our commerce, it was reſolved, that the command of this armament ſhould be given to admiral *Herbert* [y], who was accordingly inſtructed to contribute as much as poſſible to the raiſing the ſiege of *Tangier*; and when that was done, to uſe his beſt endeavours to bring the *Algerines* to a ſubmiſſion, and to a new treaty, upon better and more explicit terms, than that they had lately broken, which they pretended to explain in ſuch a manner, as to juſtify their piracies.

In

[u] Account of the proceedings of his majeſty's fleet under the command of his ſerene highneſs prince Rupert, palatine of the Rhine, and duke of Cumberland, p. 4. [x] So I find it in an account of naval promotions extracted from ſecretary Pepys's papers. [y] Burchet's naval hiſtory.

In 1682 rear admiral *Herbert* ſailed into the *Mediterranean* with a ſtrong ſquadron, and a conſiderable number of tenders and ſtoreſhips, which arrived very ſafe under his convoy at *Tangier*. He found that fortreſs not a little ſtraitened by the *Moors*, by whom it was ſo cloſely blocked up, that nothing could enter it by land. Mr. *Herbert* not only relieved the garriſon, by the ſeaſonable ſupply that he brought of proviſions and military ſtores, but reſolved alſo to reſtore his countrymen to liberty as well as plenty, by compelling the enemy to raiſe the blockade. He landed with this view as many ſeamen out of the fleet as he could poſſibly ſpare, formed them into a battalion, and by attacking the *Moors* on one ſide, while the garriſon made a briſk ſally; and drove them from moſt of their poſts on the other, obliged them to leave the neighbourhood of the place, and to retire further within land [z]. He executed the other part of his charge with reſpect to the *Algerines*, with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs, deſtroyed ſome of their ſhips, and diſpoſed things in ſuch a manner to diſturb and diſtreſs that ſtate by ſea, as obliged the *Dey* to ſummon a *Divan*; in which it was reſolved to enter into an immediate negotiation with the *Engliſh* admiral; the terms were very ſpeedily ſettled, without any of thoſe ambiguities, which left them pretences for breaking their treaties when they pleaſed, and the buſineſs of his expedition being happily over, he returned home ſafe with the ſquadron under his command, towards the latter end of the ſame year [a].

[z] Burchet's naval hiſtory. [a] An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, &c. Burchet's naval hiſtory.

SOME time after this, but whether in the reign of king *Charles* the ſecond, or King *James*, I am not able to ſay, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral, and was as much eſteemed by the ſeamen, and in as high credit at court as any officer in the ſervice. The favours he had received from the duke of *York* gave him room to expect farther preferments upon the acceſſion of that prince to the throne; nor was he deceived in his expectations, ſince in the beginning of the new reign, he was made vice-admiral of *England*, and maſter of the robes[b], there being at that time no man of his rank who was more heartily attached, either to the government, or to the perſon of that prince than mr. *Herbert*. But when the ſcheme for repealing the teſt act came under conſideration, and king *James* thought fit to cloſet ſuch of his officers in the army and fleet as had ſeats in the houſe of commons, it quickly appeared, that vice-admiral *Herbert* was none of thoſe complying ſpirits, who, for the ſake of private profit, would ſacrifice the intereſt of the publick[c]. His brother, the lord chief juſtice *Herbert*, had expoſed himſelf to publick odium, by giving judgment in his court in favour of the king's diſpenſing power, upon an action brought againſt ſir *Edward Hales*, who had accepted an employment without qualifying himſelf for it by taking the oaths the law required, and tho' this ſeemed in ſome meaſure to have done all that the king wanted, he ſtill perſiſted in his deſign of having the teſt act repealed; which, amongſt other extraordinary conſequences, produced the diſgrace of vice-admiral *Herbert*, who to that hour had never done any thing to diſoblige the king, or had perceiv-

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[b] Collibor's Columna Roſtrata, p. 252, [c] Reresby's Memoirs, p. 241.

ed the leaſt coldneſs in his majeſty towards him [d]. We have this ſtory at large in biſhop *Burnet*'s Hiſtory of his Own Times [e], with ſome inferences from it that are very juſt, I ſhall give it the reader therefore in his own words.

"So little regard, ſays that prelate, had the chief juſtice's "neareſt friends to his opinion in this particular, that his "brother admiral *Herbert*, being preſſed by the king to "promiſe that he would vote the repeal of the teſt, an-"ſwered the king very plainly, that he could not do it, "either in honour nor conſcience. The king ſaid, he "knew he was a man of honour, but the reſt of his life "did not look like a man that had great regard to "conſcience. He anſwered boldly, he had his faults, "but they were ſuch, that other people, who talk-"ed more of conſcience, were guilty of the like. "He was indeed a man abandoned to luxury and vice: "But though he was poor, and had much to loſe, "having places to the value of four thouſand pounds a "year, he choſe to loſe them all rather than comply. This "made much noiſe: for, as he had great reputation for "his conduct in ſea affairs, ſo he had been moſt paſſion-"ately zealous in the king's ſervice from his firſt ſetting "out to that day. It appeared by this, that no paſt ſervice "would be conſidered if men were not reſolved to comply "in every thing."

THE biſhop bears very hard in the beginning of this account of the vice-admiral's behaviour, upon that of his brother the chief juſtice, as he does likewiſe in many other places, it is therefore but common juſtice to the character

[d] An impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, &c. [e] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 671.

of that gentleman, who was a great lawyer, and in private life a very generous worthy man, to take notice that he was very far from being ſo abſolute a time-ſerver as he is frequently repreſented; for the truth is, that he ſuffered as well as his brother for his regard to the publick, and there ſeems to be no reaſon that this truth ſhould not be as well known. When king *James* found it was in vain to think of attaining his purpoſes by a parliament, he placed all his hopes in what was certainly a fitter inſtrument for anſwering his deſign, and that was his ſtanding army. Yet in the management of this, there was ſome difficulty, for being compoſed of *Engliſhmen*, they ſhewed an inclination rather to deſert their colours than to act againſt their country. To prevent this, it was reſolved to make uſe of an act of parliament, by which it was made felony for any ſoldier to quit his colours after being duly inliſted in the king's ſervice in time of war, either in parts beyond the ſeas, or in *Scotland*. But to make this law operate in *England*, was not very conſonant to law, how much ſoever it might be to the king's will in this point; therefore the lord chief juſtice *Herbert* was as far from complying in this, as his brother the admiral had been in that of the teſt; upon which he was removed, and was ſucceeded in his high office by ſir *Robert Wright*, who not long after hanged a poor ſoldier upon that ſtatute by way of wetting his commiſſion [f]. It is true, that ſir *Edward Herbert* followed the fortunes of his maſter, and remained with him in *France*, which ſhewed that what he did upon the bench, proceeded purely from conſcience, and not from any private reaſon of hope or fear whatever. But this conduct of the chief juſtice in ſucceeding times, was thrown in

[f] Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. col. 692.

in the teeth of his brother, and ill-natured people took occaſion to ſuggeſt, that it was very unlikely one ſhould be faithful to king *William*, while the other was excepted out of all acts of indemnity for his adherence to king *James* g. But let us now quit this ſhort digreſſion, which however ſhews what ſentiments the ſoundeſt lawyers had of a ſtanding army in thoſe days, in order to return to the conduct of vice-admiral *Herbert*, after he was removed from his employments, and reduced to the ſtate of a private man, with no very conſiderable fortune to ſupport even that.

THE ſmall appearance there was of his being able to live with honour or even with ſafety at home, and his inclination to follow many perſons of great reputation, who at that juncture choſe to retire abroad, induced Mr. *Herbert* to withdraw to *Holland*, whither he was either accompanied or quickly followed by his brother colonel *Herbert*, and by his couſin *Henry Herbert* eſq; whom king *William* afterwards created lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*. Upon his arrival at the *Hague*, the vice-admiral was exceedingly well received, and not long after taken into the ſervice of the ſtates, which was a very prudent and beneficial ſtep, numbers of *Engliſh* ſeamen following, and entering for his ſake into the *Dutch* ſervice h, which convinced the ſtates that things were come to a criſis in *England*, and that the king had loſt the affections of his ſubjects to a ſtrange degree, when the ſeamen, who of all others had ſhewed themſelves moſt hearty in his cauſe, began to forſake him. At the prince of *Orange's* court, vice-admiral *Herbert* was very ſincerely welcomed; he was known to be a man of great

g In many of the pamphlets after the earl's diſgrace this was reflected on and the author of the impartial account apologizes for it. h Sir John Reresby's memoirs p. 266.

weight and experience; one that perfectly underſtood the ſtate of the *Engliſh* fleet, and the temper and characters of the officers who commanded it; ſo that there is no great reaſon to wonder he was treated with very high reſpect, and received into the moſt entire confidence, more eſpecially as he took care to maintain his dignity by a very cautious and reſerved behaviour, contrary to that heat and vehemence expreſſed by ſome other perſons, who thought to make their court, by repreſenting an attempt upon *England*, as a thing that might be eaſily accompliſhed; whereas the vice-admiral underſtood and ſpoke of it, as an undertaking that required a very conſiderable ſtrength, and much deliberation [i].

THE ſame prelate we have before quoted, gives us on this occaſion a very different character of Mr. *Herbert*, from that which he had drawn before in order to ſhew how great his own merit was in managing a man, who was altogether untractable in the hands of others, and even of the prince himſelf; the paſſage is very curious, and therefore the reader ſhall ſee it, in the biſhop's own words [k].

"Admiral *Herbert* came over to *Holland*, and was received with a particular regard to his pride and ill humour: for he was upon every occaſion ſo ſullen and peeviſh, that it was plain he ſet a high value on himſelf, and expected the ſame of all others. He had got his accounts paſt, in which he complained, that the king had uſed him, not only hardly, but unjuſtly. He was a man delivered up to pride, and luxury, yet he had a good underſtanding, and he had gained ſo great a reputation by

[i] An impartial account of many remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington &c. [k] Hiſtory of his own time, Vol. i. 762.

"by his ſteady behaviour in *England*, that the prince un-
"derſtood, that it was expected he ſhould uſe him, as he
"himſelf ſhould deſire; in which it was not very eaſy to
"him to conſtrain himſelf ſo far as that required. The
"managing him was in a great meaſure put on me: and
"it was no eaſy thing. It made me often reflect on the
"providence of God, that makes ſome men inſtruments in
"great things, to which they themſelves have no ſort of
"affection or diſpoſition: for his private quarrel with the
"lord *Dartmouth*, who he thought had more of the king's
"confidence than he himſelf had, was believed the root of
"all the fullenneſs he fell under toward the king, and of
"all the firmneſs that grew out of that."

It muſt appear more wonderful than any thing obſerved by our hiſtorian, if this was the real character of the man, that the ſtates general, and the prince of *Orange*, ſhould give him the title of lieutenant-general-admiral, and intruſt him with the ſupreme command[l] of their fleet; it is true our author ſays, that this was not very eaſy to the ſtates, or to the prince himſelf, who thought it an abſurd thing. But why did they do it then? nothing leſs, ſays he, would content *Herbert*. If this was ſo, we have ſome reaſon to believe, that the ſtates and the prince of *Orange* had a very high opinion of his talents, or of his intereſt, in taking ſo extraordinary a ſtep, merely becauſe he would not be content without it[m]. But it is more probable, that he was put at the head of the fleet, becauſe there were many reaſons that made him the propereſt man for that command, ſuch as the nature of the deſign itſelf, his intereſt among

[l] Mercure hiſtorique pour le mois d' Octobre, 1668. [m] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 764.

the officers of the *Engliſh* navy, his perfect acquaintance with our coaſts, his being moſt likely to engage the governors of ſea-port towns, to come into the prince, and above all, the neceſſity they were under of having ſome *Engliſhman* in a high poſt, to prevent the people from conſidering this as a hoſtile invaſion. Now, if we view this matter in theſe lights, it is no difficult thing to ſee, that of all the *Engliſh* who were about his royal highneſs, vice-admiral *Herbert* was in every reſpect the fitteſt man to be intruſted with that command; and therefore, if nothing elſe would content him, it might not proceed from pride, from ambition, or ill humour, but from his making a right judgment of things, and knowing that nothing could contribute ſo much to the ſucceſs of the enterprize; yet of the two, it is infinitely more probable, that he did not inſiſt upon this himſelf, but that the States and the prince of *Orange* conferred the command upon him, as a thing which they ſaw to be very expedient, or rather abſolutely neceſſary [n].

It was certainly a very extraordinary undertaking in all reſpects, and will appear ſo, if we reflect that a great army was to be embarked; that ſeven hundred tranſports were to be prepared for that embarkation; that proviſions, ammunition, and every thing requiſite for the ſervice as well of the army, as of the fleet, was to be procured in a ſhort time, and with the utmoſt ſecrecy; all which was actually done by the indefatigable diligence of four commiſſioners, *viz. Bentinck*, *Dykvelt*, *Van Hulſt*, and *Herbert*: it is plain therefore, that his ſkill in directing what was requiſite for the fleet, was intirely relied on; and if he had been

[n] Hiſtory of the Revolution, p. 135.

been ſuch a haughty, moroſe, over-bearing perſon he could have hardly maintained a fair correſpondence with his collegues for ſo long a ſpace as they were engaged in making theſe preparations: as to which our hiſtorian tell us that they were two months conſtantly employed in giving all the neceſſary orders, which they did with ſo little noiſe, that nothing broke out all that time [o]. After ſuch an inſtance of his capacity, and indefatigable care, they might well expect that the reſt of his conduct would be of a piece. But what ſeems farther to explain the real intention of the ſtates and the prince of *Orange*, in truſting vice-admiral *Herbert*, though a ſtranger, with ſo high a command was, the publiſhing his letter to the commanders of the *Engliſh* fleet, at the very ſame time with the prince of *Orange*'s declaration, for if they had not placed very ſtrong hopes upon that, without queſtion it had never been publiſhed at all; and if they had ſuch hopes, this alone will ſufficiently account for the giving him the chief command under the prince of *Orange*, to whom, by the nature of his commiſſion, he was lieutenant-general by ſea. Neither were theſe hopes of influencing the *Engliſh* ſeamen ſlightly grounded, ſince the pamphlets wrote in thoſe times univerſally agree, that the ſeamen had a very general and warm averſion to popery, diſliked and deſpiſed ſuch of their officers as had embraced that religion, and were very prone in their cups to drink admiral *Herbert*'s health; ſo that theſe were very ſtrong indications of their ill will on one ſide, and their good will on the other [p].

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[o] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. 768 [p] An impartial account of many remarkable paſſages in the life of the earl of Torrington, &c.

It is however true, that this letter had not the effect that was expected from it, or rather had not such an effect so soon as it was expected; but this was chiefly owing to unforeseen and inevitable accidents; neither can any thing be affirmed about it with much certainty: but as the letter itself is curious, and as it is not commonly to be met with, unless in a *French* translation, it may not be disagreeable to the reader here; and there is the more reason to insert it, because nothing can have a closer relation to this noble person's memoirs, since it must be allowed to have been the most remarkable and most important paper that ever fell from his pen, and was conceived in the following words.

To all commanders of ships and seamen in his majesty's fleet.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE little to add to what his highness has expressed in general terms, besides laying before you the dangerous way you are at present in, where ruin or infamy must inevitably attend you, if you do not join with the prince in the common cause for the defence of your religion and liberties; for should it please God for the sins of the *English* nation to suffer your arms to prevail, to what end can your victory serve you, but to enslave you deeper, and overthrow the true religion, in which you have lived, and your fathers died, of which I beg you as a friend to consider the consequences, and to reflect on the blot and infamy it will bring on you, not only now, but in all after-ages, that by your means the protestant religion was destroyed, and your country deprived of its ancient liberties; and

and if it pleaſes God to bleſs the prince's endeavours with ſucceſs, as I do not doubt but he will, conſider then what their condition will be that oppoſe him in this ſo good a deſign, where the greateſt favour they can hope for is their being ſuffered to end their days in miſery and want, deteſted and deſpiſed by all good men.

IT is therefore, for theſe, and for many other reaſons, too long to inſert here, that I, as a true *Engliſhman*, and your friend, exhort you to join your arms to the prince for the defence of the common cauſe, the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of your country.

IT is what I am well aſſured, the major, and beſt part of the army, as well as the nation, will do ſo as ſoon as convenience is offered. Prevent them in ſo good an action while it is in your power, and make it appear, that as the kingdom has always depended on the navy for its defence, ſo you will yet go further, by making it as much as in you lies the protection of her religion and liberties, and then you may aſſure yourſelves of all marks of favour and honour, ſuitable to the merits of ſo glorious an action. After this I ought not to add ſo inconſiderable a thing, as that it will for ever engage me to be in a moſt particular manner,

Aboard the *Leyden* in the *Gore*,

your faithful friend, and humble ſervant,

AR. HERBERT.

WHEN every thing was ready, the troops were embarked with ſo much ſpeed and ſecrecy, that no advices could be given in *England* that could be of any uſe: but notwithſtanding this care, the fleet was obliged to return. They ſailed on the nineteenth of *October*, 1688, and they put

put back into port on the twenty-ſecond. This was a great diſappointment; and, without doubt, had things been managed by a prince of leſs firmneſs, or by an admiral of leſs experience, their expedition had been loſt [q]. It is reported, that admiral *Herbert* adviſed putting off the buſineſs to that late ſeaſon of the year, becauſe he judged, that the winds would be more favourable; that the king's fleet would be leſs able to act; and that, when the enterprize was ſo long delayed, it would be concluded in *England* to be given over. His ſerene highneſs came into this propoſition for the reaſons before aſſigned, and for one as weighty as any of them, which was, that the ſeaſon of the year for a campaign being over, the *French* were not like to make any attempts, and conſequently the States General ran little or no hazard by their troops being thus employed at this juncture [r]. It is on all ſides acknowledged, that it was owing to admiral *Herbert* that the prince of *Orange* laid aſide his intention of ſailing northward to the *Humber*, which muſt have been attended with great inconveniencies, as no fleet could lie long with ſafety on that coaſt [s]: but it is not certain whether he gave the advice, which however was followed, of publiſhing in all the *Dutch* gazettes, that the fleet had been very roughly handled by the ſtorm, that abundance of horſes had been thrown over board; that many perſons of diſtinction, and particularly Dr. *Burnet* were caſt away and drowned, which had the effect that was expected from it, of perſwading ſuch

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[q] Hiſtory of the Revolution, by R. F. Hiſtoire de Guillaume III. prince d'Orange. [r] Mercure Hiſtorique et Politique, Octobre, Novembre et Decembre 1688. [s] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, vol. i.

ſuch as were not in the ſecret, that the expedition was totally overthrown, and that it muſt be poſtponed for ſome months at leaſt [t].

It is very certain, that this unexpected check made many people mighty uneaſy, and occaſioned ſome very extraordinary propoſals to the prince. Amongſt the reſt, one was, that admiral *Herbert*, with a ſtout ſquadron, ſhould proceed to the *Engliſh* coaſt, and fight the king's fleet, to which he was not at all averſe, but the weather rendered it impracticable. The prince of *Orange*, however, never altered his intention in the leaſt; but having given the neceſſary orders for repairing the ſhips, and refreſhing the troops, which was ſoon done, the fleet ſailed again, upon the firſt of *November* [u], and, as we have ſhewn elſewhere, arrived ſpeedily and ſafely on the *Engliſh* coaſt, where, by the skill and care of admiral *Herbert*, the troops were very ſoon landed, and by his intelligence with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction in the neighbourhood, amply ſupplied with proviſions and other neceſſaries. In a very few days after, the good effects of the admiral's letter appeared by the coming in of ſeveral ſhips; the firſt of which was the *Newcaſtle*, lying at *Plymouth*, under the command of captain *Churchill* [x], and the way being once broke, the ſeamen declared in geral for the prince; from all which it fully appeared, how much the ſucceſs of this great affair was owing to the valour, vigilance, and prudence of this noble perſon.

On the 8th of *March* 1688. king *William* granted a commiſſion for executing the office of lord high admiral to the

[t] Remarks upon the reign of William III. p. 17. [u] Life of Willam III. Kennet, Burchet, &c. [x] Remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, &c.

the following perſons, *viz.* *Arthur Herbert*, eſq; *John* earl of *Carbery*, ſir *Michael Wharton*, ſir *Thomas Lee*, baronet, ſir *John Chicheley*, knight, ſir *John Lowther*, of *Whitehaven*, baronet, and *William Sacheverel*, eſq; but the laſt declined accepting that poſt, declaring, that, as he underſtood nothing of maritime affairs, he could not accept the ſalary with a ſafe conſcience [y]. As for the command of the fleet, that was intruſted with admiral *Herbert* from the beginning, and he had likewiſe the honour of bringing over the new queen [z]. We have already given a large account of his behaviour in the buſineſs of *Bantry-Bay* [a], of the motives which induced him to fight the *French* fleet, and of the conſequences of that action, collected as well from the *French* as our hiſtorians: but after all, perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the account publiſhed by authority, drawn from the admiral's own letter from on board the *Elizabeth*, dated *May* the ſecond, 1689, and which imported,

"That admiral *Herbert* having refitted at *Milford-Ha-*
"*ven* the damages which ſome of his ſhips had ſuſtained
"by ill weather on the coaſt of *Ireland*, intended to go
"directly for *Breſt*; but the wind coming eaſterly, which
"might bring the *French* fleet out, he ſtood on the twen-
"ty-fourth paſt, over to *Kinſale*, which he judged the
"likelieſt way to meet them.

"That accordingly, on the 29th, our ſcouts made
"ſignal that they diſcovered a fleet keeping their wind,
"which made us likewiſe keep our own all night, to hin-
"der

[y] Hiſtory of the proceedings of the houſe of lords, vol. i. p. 243. [z] See the Naval Hiſtory in 1689. [a] Printed in a ſheet and a half in the Savoy.

" der them from getting into *Kinſale*. The thirtieth, they " heard the enemy was gone into *Baltimore*, being forty- " four ſail; whereupon ours bore away to that place, but " found there was no ſign of them. That in the evening " our ſcouts got ſight of them again to the weſtward of " *Cape Clear*: we ſteered after them, and found they " were got into the *Bantry*; we lay off the bay all night, " and the next morning, by break of day, ſtood in, where " we found them at anchor. That they got preſently " under ſail, and bore down upon our fleet, in a line com- " poſed of twenty-eight men of war and five fireſhips. " That when they came within musket-ſhot of the *De-* " *fiance*, the headmoſt of our ſhips, the *French* admiral " put out the ſignal of battle, which was begun by them, " they firing their great and ſmall ſhot very furiouſly on " the *Defiance*, and the reſt, as we came in our line. " That then we made ſeveral boards to gain the wind, or " at leaſt to engage them cloſer; but finding that way " of working very diſadvantageous, admiral *Herbert* ſtood " off to ſea, as well to have got our ſhips into a line, as to " have gained the wind of the enemy; but found them ſo " cautious in bearing down, that we could never get an op- " portunity of doing it; and in this poſture continued " battering upon a ſtretch until five in the afternoon, when " the *French* admiral tacked from us, and ſtood away far- " ther into the bay.

" That admiral *Herbert*'s ſhip, and ſome of the reſt, " being diſabled in their rigging, we could not follow " them, but we continued ſome time after before the bay, " and our admiral gave him a gun at parting. In this ac- " tion, captain *Aylmer* in the *Portland*, who came in ſoon

" enough

" enough for the battle, with others of the ſquadron men-
" tioned, and ninety-four ſeamen were killed, and about
" two hundred and fifty wounded, as appears by a ſurvey
" taken after the fight, and our ſhips received little da-
" mage except in their ſails and rigging.

" That as for our officers and ſeamen, that right muſt be
" done them, they behaved themſelves with all the cou-
" rage and chearfulneſs that could be expected from the
" braveſt men; and that, on the other ſide, without leſſen-
" ing the enemy, it may be ſaid that they either wanted
" courage or skill to make uſe of the advantage of the place,
" the wind, their fireſhips, and their number, being at leaſt
" double our force, they having eighteen ſhips, the leaſt of
" which was as big as the *Elizabeth*; and it ſo happened
" at the time of the engagement, admiral *Herbert* had with
" him but eight third rates, ten fourth rates, one fifth rate,
" and two tenders. And that the fleet deſigned to rendez-
" vous and refit at *Scilly*."

As to the perſonal behaviour of admiral *Herbert* in this action, it was altogether unexceptionable; he was in the hotteſt of the ſervice, himſelf had ſeveral of the largeſt of the enemy's ſhips upon him at a time, notwithſtanding which he continued to expoſe himſelf to encourage the ſeamen ſword in hand upon the quarter deck, and to do all that lay in his power to continue the engagement, inſomuch, that many thought, that if the reſt of the officers had done their duty as well as he, they had given a better account of the *French* than they did [b]. For which ſome officers were called to a court-martial, and broke; ſo much was the admiral a lover of diſcipline. On the

[b] Impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 19.

the fifteenth of *May*, when the king dined on board his ſhip, he was pleaſed to expreſs great ſatisfaction in his conduct, and declared his intention of creating him a peer, as he afterwards did, *viz.* on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, by the title of baron *Herbert* of *Torbay*, and earl of *Torrington* [c]. The houſe of commons alſo were pleaſed to give him thanks for the ſervice he had done the nation in taking the firſt opportunity to fight the *French* in *Bantry-Bay* [d].

THE reader will, without doubt, be better pleaſed to ſee this matter ſet in its true light from the journal of the houſe; in which it appears, that *Arthur Herbert* eſq; then burgeſs for the town of *Plymouth*, in the county of *Devon*, and being in his place, had their thanks in conſequence of an order made the *Saturday* before.

Martis 21°. die *Maii*, primo *Willielmi* et *Mariæ*.

MR. ſpeaker gave admiral *Herbert* the thanks of the houſe according to their order of *Saturday* laſt, to the effect as followeth, *viz.*

Admiral HERBERT,

"THIS houſe hath taken notice of the great ſervice "you have performed in engaging the *French* fleet: "they do look upon it as one of the braveſt actions done "in this laſt age, and expect it will raiſe the reputation "of the *Engliſh* valour to its ancient glory. I do there- "fore, by the command of this houſe, return you their "hearty thanks for this ſervice, and deſire you that will "commu-

[c] Burchet's naval hiſtory, Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts. [d] Remarks on the reign of William III.

"communicate the like thanks in their name to the offi-
"cers and ſeamen that ſerved under your command, and
"to let them know that this houſe will have a particular
"regard of their merits, and take care, as much as in
"them lies, to give them all due encouragement."

WHEREUPON admiral *Herbert* ſpake to the effect as followeth.

SIR,

"I AM in ſome confuſion at this great and unexpect-
"ed honour, and the more, becauſe I want words to
"expreſs my ſenſe of it. The beſt return that I think
"myſelf capable of making, is to aſſure this honour-
"able houſe, that, with my utmoſt hazard, I will
"endeavour by my future actions, to deſerve it, and
"will not fail to obey their commands, in acquainting
"the officers and ſeamen who were with me, of the
"favourable acceptation by this houſe of their ſervice.
"And ſince the houſe have ſo favourable an opinion of
"their actions, I would beg their leave to make an hum-
"ble motion, and I think it is a thing becoming the great-
"neſs of this nation, and indeed has been the care of al-
"moſt all nations, that have any commerce at ſea: it is
"to aſſign ſome place and revenue for the ſupport of ſuch
"as are maimed in the ſervice and defence of their coun-
"try. There is no ſufficient proviſion made at preſent
"in this kingdom, and indeed it is too great a charge for
"the crown. I therefore humbly move, it may be or-
"dered by this houſe, that an act may paſs, that
"they may have a ſupport and ſubſiſtence, after they have
"by wounds been made uncapable of farther ſervice."

Reſolved,

Reſolved, That the houſe will take care to make a proviſion for ſuch ſeamen as are, or ſhall be wounded in their majeſties ſervice, and for the wives and children of ſuch as are, or ſhall be ſlain therein; and that a committee be appointed to conſider how the ſame may be done.

And it is referred to admiral *Herbert*, mr. *Hales*, mr. *Beſcawen*, mr. *Aſhburnham*, ſir *William Williams*, mr. *Garwey*, mr. *Elwel*, lord *Cooke*, mr. *Holles*, mr. *Papillon*, mr. *Gwyn*, lord *Falkland*, lord *Sherrard*, mr. *Bickerſtaff*, mr. *Henry Herbert*, mr. *Edward Ruſſel*, mr. *Bromley*, mr. *Tho. Foley*, ſir *Duncan Colcheſter*, mr. *Leveſon Gower*, mr. *P. Foley*, ſir *Henry Capell*, ſir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, mr. *Sacheverell*, mr. *Cooke*, and ſir *Thomas Littleton*.

As he was at this time poſſeſſed of all that a man could well deſire; the eſteem of his prince, the favour of the people, and the love of the ſeamen, ſo it is allowed that he behaved in a manner every way worthy of his ſtation, living very magnificently when in town, and ſhewing a great reſpect for his officers when at ſea, which gained him a wonderful intereſt in the fleet; to this, though ſome have given a ſiniſter turn, as if it was the chief cauſe of his acquittal by the court-martial that tried him, yet impartial judges will hardly believe that he could have gained ſuch an intereſt, but by an extraordinary degree of merit, and by a readineſs to diſtinguiſh it in other men; for which, while it was not in ſome degree criminal to affirm it, he was generally famous in the navy [e]. When he went down to take the command in the ſpring of the year 1690 of the confederate fleet, his character ſtood as fair as any

[e] Inquiry into the conduct of maritime affairs ſince the Revolution, p. 31.

officer's could do; and even the *Dutch*, in their relations, allow, that his conduct was very great in ſhifting and avoiding an engagement in purſuance of the advice of a council of war, founded upon the enemy's great ſuperiority, till ſuch time as he received poſitive orders to fight; and then he ſhewed likewiſe great judgment in the diſpoſition he made for an engagement f.

We have little to add to the account we have already given of the action off *Beachy-head* on the 30th of *June*, except that in the battle there was not ſo much as one *Engliſh* man of war loſt, and but one of the *Dutch*; that in the whole courſe of the retreat, the earl of *Torrington* gave his orders with great prudence, and in ſuch a manner as prevented the *French* from making any great advantage of what they called a victory, notwithſtanding the inequality of the fleets, and ſome unlucky accidents that happened, in ſpite of all the precautions that could be taken. Neither was his lordſhip at all diſcompoſed, when, upon his being ſent for up to town, he found ſo general a clamour raiſed againſt him; but, on the contrary, gave a very clear account of matters, before the council; inſiſted, that he had done all that was in his power to do, which made him eaſy in his mind as to the conſequences, being perſwaded, that of the two, it was much better for him to ruin himſelf than to ruin the fleet, as he abſolutely muſt have done, if he had acted otherwiſe than he did g. All he could ſay however, had little effect at that time, ſo that he was committed to the *Tower*, and commiſſioners were ſent down to inſpect into the condition of the fleet, and to make

f See the letter of admiral Evertſon in the former part of this volume.

g Remarks on the reign of William III.

make the neceſſary enquiries for framing a charge againſt him, it being held abſolutely requiſite to bring him to a trial, that the juſtice of the nation might not ſuffer in the opinion of her allies, the reſentment of the *Dutch* having riſen ſo high as to threaten pulling down the houſe of lord *Durſley*, who then reſided at the *Hague* h.

When the parliament met, *October* the ſecond, 1690, his majeſty was pleaſed to take notice in his ſpeech, in a very particular manner of the diſaſter that had happened off *Beachy-head*; and the paragraph being but ſhort, we ſhall inſert it i. "I cannot conclude without taking no-"tice alſo how much the honour of the nation has been "expoſed by the ill conduct of my fleet in the laſt ſum-"mer's engagement againſt the *French*; and I think my-"ſelf ſo much concerned to ſee it vindicated, that I can-"not reſt ſatisfied till an example has been made of ſuch "as ſhall be found faulty upon their examination and "trial, which was not practicable while the whole fleet "was abroad; but is now put into the proper way of being "done as ſoon as may be." But notwithſtanding this, the proceedings againſt the earl of *Torrington* were not very expeditious, and therefore he applied himſelf by way of petition to the houſe of peers, who took his caſe into conſideration; but after having fully debated it, left him to the ordinary courſe of proceedings; or, in other words, referred him to a court-martial. Yet, in order to the conſtituting of ſuch a court, as we have elſewhere obſerved, there were ſome difficulties to be got over, and thoſe

h Impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, p. 25. i Debates in the houſe of commons, vol. ii. p. 384.

of ſuch a nature as demanded the attention of the legiſlature; in order to effect which, a bill was brought in for veſting in the commiſſioners of the *Admiralty* the ſame power in regard to granting commiſſions, which was already veſted by law, in the lord high admiral of *England*.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that on the twentieth of *January* 1689, the king had appointed a new board of admiralty, in which *Thomas* earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, was firſt lord, inſtead of the earl of *Torrington*, and ſir *Michael Wharton* was left out. On the fifth of *June* 1690, the board was again changed, and augmented from five to ſeven. Theſe were *Thomas* earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, *John* earl of *Carberry*, ſir *Thomas Lee* baronet, ſir *John Lowther* baronet, *Edward Ruſſel* eſq; ſir *Richard Onſlow* baronet, and *Henry Prieſtman* eſq; and to this board it was that the intended act gave the power of appointing court-martials for the trial of any officer, of what rank ſoever, as a lord high admiral might do. When this bill came to be read a third time in the houſe of peers, it occaſioned very warm debates, many lords being of opinion, that it would have been better, if, inſtead of a new board, his majeſty had appointed a lord high admiral; in which caſe, there would have been no need whatever of a new law: but at length, however, it was carried by a majority of two only; upon which many of the lords entered their proteſts for the following reaſons [i].

"BECAUSE this bill gives a power to commiſſioners "of the admiralty to execute a juriſdiction, which, by "the act of the thirteenth of *Charles* the Second, entitled,

An

[h] See this act in the Statutes at large. [i] The hiſtory and proceedings of the houſe of lords, vol. i. p. 405.

" *An Act for eſtabliſhing articles and orders for the regula-*
" *ting and better government of his majeſty's navy, ſhips of*
" *war, and forces by ſea*, we conceive they had not;
" whereby the earl of *Torrington* may come to be tried for
" his life for facts committed ſeveral months before this
" power was given or deſired: we think it reaſonable that
" every man ſhould be tried by that law that was known
" to be in force when the crime was committed.

" It is by virtue of the ſaid act of the thirteenth of
" *Charles* II. that the earl of *Torrington* was judged by this
" houſe not to have the privilege of a peer of this realm,
" for any offences committed againſt the ſaid act; and
" there is no other law, as we conceive, by which the ſaid
" earl could have been debarred from enjoying the privi-
" lege of a peer of this realm; which act, making no
" mention of commiſſioners of the admiralty, but of a
" lord high admiral only, by whoſe authority all the pow-
" ers given by that act are to be exerciſed, and without
" whoſe conſent ſingly, no ſentence of death can be exe-
" cuted, we think it of dangerous conſequence to expound
" a law of this capital nature, otherwiſe than the literal
" words do import; and as we conceive it without prece-
" dent to paſs even explanatory laws, much leſs ſuch as
" have a retroſpect in them in caſes of life and death, ſo
" we think it not at all neceſſary to make ſuch a prece-
" dent at this time, there being an undoubted legal way
" already eſtabliſhed to bring this earl to a trial by a lord
" high-admiral.

" Thirdly, the judges having unanimouſly declared,
" that the law marine was no where particularized in their
" books, whereby the power, or juriſdiction of the lord

"high-admiral may be aſcertained to that practice, is all "that we know of it, we conceive it unprecedented, and "of dangerous conſequence, that the juriſdiction exerciſed "by the lord-high-admiral, ſhould by a law be declared to "be in the commiſſioners of the admiralty, whereby an "unknown, and therefore unlimited power may be eſta-"bliſhed in them."

Rivers, Huntingdon, Rocheſter, Weymouth, Stamford, Dartmouth, Oxford, Macclesfield, Tho. Roſſen, Crew, Bath, Granville, Herbert, Craven, J. Exon, Bolton, J. Bridgwater.

As ſoon as the bill had paſſed both houſes, and had received the royal aſſent, the earl of *Torrington* was removed out of the *Tower* into the cuſtody of the marſhal of the admiralty, where he had not been long, before he brought his caſe into the houſe of commons. This was done by a member's acquainting the houſe, that this noble peer was deſirous of being heard at their bar, in reſpect to the matter for which he was in cuſtody. Upon this an order was made for his lordſhip's being brought thither the next day, the ſerjeant at arms was directed to ſerve the marſhal of the admiralty with a copy of it, which he did accordingly; and, *November* the twelfth, the houſe being informed, that his lordſhip was in the lobby, directed him to be brought in by the ſerjeant, with the mace, to a chair ſet for him within the bar, on the left-hand of the houſe as he came in, and having ſat down thereon for ſome time covered, and the mace being laid upon the table, his lordſhip roſe, and ſtood at the back of the

the chair uncovered, and was heard before the houſe; after which his lordſhip withdrew, the mace attending him [k].

THIS is all we meet with in the journal; but a writer of thoſe times aſſures us, that his lordſhip found himſelf ſo much embarraſſed in the preſence of that aſſembly, as not to be able to expreſs himſelf as he intended; upon which he acquainted the commons, that being accuſtomed rather to act than to ſpeak, he found himſelf at a loſs for words, and therefore deſired to make uſe of his papers, which was allowed him. He then took notice how early he had entered into his country's ſervice, how many years he had ſpent therein, and of his having ſpill'd much blood, as well as been depriv'd of his eye, in their quarrel. He proceeded next to the loſs he had ſuſtained for ſupporting the Proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of *England* under king *James* II. Laſt of all, he ſpoke of the engagement with the *French* fleet off *Beachy-head*, in reſpect to which he excuſed his not fighting from the want of intelligence, want of ammunition, ſhortneſs of wind, inequality of numbers; and in ſupport of what he ſaid, produced ſome letters; but all this was of little or no uſe to his lordſhip, the houſe remitted him to that trial, for which the late act had made way, and of which the higheſt expectations were raiſed at home and abroad, the king being reſolved not to embark for *Holland* till it was all over [l].

ACCORDINGLY, *Saturday* the ſixth of *December* 1690, his lordſhip went down to *Sheerneſs* in his yatcht, the court-martial ſitting there on board the *Kent*: on *Monday*

[k] Journal book of the houſe of commons, *die Martis*, Nov. 11. and *die Mercur.* Nov. 12, 1690. [l] Impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages in the life of Arthur earl of Torrington, &c.

day, *December* 8, ſir *Ralph Delaval*, being in the chair as preſident, the commiſſion was opened and read, and other preliminaries adjuſted, after which the court adjourned to *Wedneſday* the tenth, when the witneſſes were heard on the part of the crown, as well *Dutch* as *Engliſh* [o]; but notwithſtanding the loudneſs of the common reports, there was very little appeared in proof, notwithſtanding the court took all the pains they could to ſift things to the bottom; his lordſhip then made his defence in the manner that has been before-mentioned, inſiſted largely on the ſuperiority of the *French* fleet, on the ſhifting of the wind, which put it out of his power to ſuccour the *Dutch*; on the care taken on ſecuring a retreat, and the ſmall advantage that the enemy reaped from their ſo much boaſted ſucceſs in this action, which had drawn upon their admiral, count *Tourville*, as many cenſures as upon himſelf, and with pretty much the ſame reaſon. After mature conſideration, both of the charge, of his defence, and of the evidence offered, the court, *nemine contradicente*, acquitted him wholly of any imputation whatever, from his conduct on that occaſion. It is ſaid, that a certain *Dutch* rear-admiral, who was preſent, expreſſed his reſentment very warmly, and it is certain, the proceedings were, quickly after, printed in *Dutch*, with ſome animadverſions [p].

On *Thurſday*, *December* the eleventh, the earl of *Torrington* returned to town in his barge, with the *Union* flag flying, as bearing ſtill the king's commiſſion of admiral and commander in chief. He returned to his own houſe, where

[o] Minutes of the court-martial on board his majeſty's ſhip the *Kent*, ſir *Ralph Delaval*, preſident, *December* 8, 1690.

[p] Impartial account of ſome remarkable paſſages, &c.

where he received the compliments of his friends, and the news which could not ſurprize him much, that his commiſſion was ſuperſeded. He was almoſt the only victim in that reign, for he never received any mark of favour, much leſs enjoyed any command afterwards [q]. He came, however, in a few days to the houſe of *Peers*, where he conſtantly attended the buſineſs of the nation, for above twenty years after this, without altering his conduct in the leaſt, which is a manifeſt proof, that he was not governed by prejudice or caprice, but by principle. He was always on the ſide of the crown, and very rarely in an oppoſition to its miniſters; ſometimes however he was, and then he commonly proteſted, that the reaſons of his oppoſition might appear, and that the world might not aſcribe his diſagreement with men in power, to ſpleen. In matters that related to the navy, he was generally moſt forward, and, in reſpect to them, the houſe heard him with attention, and upon ſuch occaſions he ſhewed himſelf commonly a friend to ſtrict diſcipline [r].

He raiſed, while in employment, a conſiderable fortune, upon which he lived in a manner becoming his rank, during the remainder of his life. His lordſhip was twice married, but never had any children [s]; and at length, after having ſpent the latter part of his life, in as much privacy and quiet, as he had done the former ſcenes of it in action, he breathed his laſt, *April* the thirteenth 1716, in a good old age, leaving the bulk of his eſtate to the right honourable

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[q] Kennet, Burchet, Burnet, life of king William, Oldmixon, &c. [r] Hiſtory and proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, vol. i. p. 436, 444. vol. ii. p. 5, 22, 29, 46, 72, 74, 430.

[s] Peerage of England, printed for Abel Roper, London 1709, octavo p. 278.

able *Henry* earl of *Lincoln*, merely out of reſpect to that noble perſon's ſteady adherence to the ſame cauſe, which the earl of *Torrington* ſupported during his whole life[t]. Theſe particulars, which had hitherto lain ſcattered in a variety of authors, we have, with the utmoſt diligence, gathered and digeſted according to the natural order of time, that the memory of ſo brave a man might not be altogether buried in oblivion, or that clamour, which the beſt judges thought, without foundation, be as fatal to his fame after death, as while living, it was to his power.

THESE, however ſcanty, are all the memorials that we have been able to diſcover from books or information, as to the eminent ſeamen who flouriſhed in this reign, except it be a very few dates in reſpect to the following illuſtrious perſons.

JOHN, lord *Berkley* of *Stratton*, was the ſon of ſir *John Berkley*, the faithful ſervant of king *Charles* I. and king *Charles* II. by whom, during his exile, he was created baron of *Stratton*, in the county of *Somerſet*, and younger brother to *Charles* lord *Berkley* of *Stratton*, who died at ſea in 1682. This noble lord was rear-admiral at the time of the revolution, groom of the ſtole, and firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber to prince *George* of *Denmark*; and, as we have ſeen, often admiral of the fleet in the reign of king *William*, and colonel of the ſecond regiment of marines; of all which employments he was poſſeſſed, when he died *February* 27, 1696-7, leaving behind him no iſſue male, ſo that the title devolved on his younger brother *William*, father to the preſent worthy nobleman *John* lord *Berkley* of *Stratton*[u].

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[t] Hiſtorical Regiſter of that year. [u] Collins's peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 168.

THE honourable *Edward Nevile*, esq; was the second son of *George* lord *Abergavenny*, and, notwithstanding his high birth, arrived at his station in the navy by pure dint of merit. He died on board the *Lincoln* the twelfth of *September*, 1701, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, as his squadron made the land of *Virginia*, and left behind him a son, who is now lord *Abergavenny*, and a daughter [q].

WE cannot shut up our account of this reign better than by an abstract of the royal navy, as it stood at the decease of king *William*, that the reader, by comparing it with the abstract at the close of our last volume, may from thence discern how far, notwithstanding so long a war, and so many other interruptions and misfortunes, our naval force encreased in the space of thirteen years.

ABSTRACT *of the* royal navy, *as it stood* December 25, 1701.

Rates.	Number.	Carrying Guns.	Men.
I.	7	714	5,312
II.	14	1,276	8,824
III.	45	3,199	18,561
IV.	63	3,253	15,329
V.	36	1,094	4,680
VI.	29	542	1,215
	194	10,078	53,921
Fire-ships	8		
Bomb-vessels	13		
Yatchs	10		

[q] Collin's peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 12.

CHAP. III.

Containing the naval history of GREAT BRITAIN, *from the accession of her majesty Queen* ANNE, *to the* Union *of the two* Kingdoms.

1702

WE are now come to that reign, under which the nation was extreamly happy at home, and her reputation carried to the greateſt height abroad. A reign that will always be remembered with honour, and make a ſhining figure in our hiſtories, as long as hiſtories ſhall laſt: a reign, in the beginning of which all party animoſities were buried in oblivion, and the tories ſeemed as ſenſible of the neceſſity of a war, as the whigs, and as ready to carry it on; which was the true reaſon why it was proſecuted for ſo many years with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs, as had never attended our arms ſince the glorious days of Queen *Elizabeth*, and which ought therefore to convince us, that we are never to hope a thorough ſettlement at home, with an effectual ſupport of our juſt claims to reſpect and freedom of commerce abroad, until there is a new and thorough coalition of parties, founded not in private views but ariſing from public ſpirit, and all men are taught to think that he is a public enemy, who avows any other intereſt than that of his country.

QUEEN *Anne* acceded to the throne on the eighth of *March*, 1701-2, in the flower of her age, if we conſider her dignity, being then about thirty-eight. She had ſhewn a very

a very juſt moderation in her conduct from the time of the revolution, and knew how to temper her relation to the ſtate, with that which ſhe bore to her family; of which ſhe gave a remarkable inſtance in the latter part of her life, by procuring the iſland of *Sicily*, for her couſin the duke of *Savoy*. She opened her reign by a very wiſe and well-conſidered ſpeech to her privy-council, in which ſhe declared, how ſenſible ſhe was of the unſpeakable loſs the nation had ſuſtained by the death of the late king, and the burden it brought upon herſelf, which nothing, ſhe ſaid, could encourage her to undergo, but the great concern ſhe had for the preſervation of the religion, laws, and liberty of her country: and that no pains ſhould be wanting on her part, to defend and ſupport them, and to maintain the proteſtant ſucceſſion. She declared her opinion for carrying on the preparations againſt *France*, and ſupporting the allies; and ſaid, ſhe would countenance thoſe who concurred with her in maintaining the preſent conſtitution and eſtabliſhment[a].

In purſuance of this declaration, the queen wrote to the ſtates-general to aſſure them, that ſhe would follow exactly the ſteps of her predeceſſor, in the maintenance of the common cauſe againſt the common enemy: and as a farther

[a] It is very remarkable, that the conduct of the Queen at the beginning of her reign, was ſuch, as gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to all parties; for ſhe avoided the error of Nero, by neither ſcrewing up the ſtrings of government too high, nor letting them run too low. It had been happy for her, and for her ſubjects, if ſhe had ſteadily purſued this conduct through the courſe of her reign, inſtead of putting herſelf into the hands of one party firſt, and then of another; both which had very ill conſequences, with reſpect to her majeſty's quiet, and to the good of her ſubjects. This reflection I thought neceſſary here,

farther proof of her ſincerity, ſhe declared the earl of *Marlborough*, whom the late king had ſent ambaſſador and plenipotentiary to the *States*, captain-general of her forces, and gave him a blue ribband. She likewiſe appointed ſir *George Rooke*, vice-admiral of *England*, and *George Churchill*, eſq; admiral of the *Blue*, in the room of *Matthew Aylmer*, eſq; afterwards lord *Aylmer*, whom we have mentioned already, and of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak very honourably hereafter. Theſe ſteps were ſufficient to demonſtrate the reality of the queen's intentions, and therefore we have all the reaſon in the world to believe, that the queen had a very good deſign in placing her conſort, *George* prince of *Denmark*, at the head of the *Admiralty*; though to do this it was found requiſite to remove the earl of *Pembroke*, then lord high-admiral, who was actually preparing to go to ſea. It is true, a large penſion was offered him; but his lordſhip anſwered, with great generoſity and public ſpirit, that however convenient it might be for his private intereſt, yet the accepting ſuch a penſion was inconſiſtent with his principles; and therefore, ſince he could not have the honour of ſerving his country in *perſon*, he would endeavour to do it by *his example* [b].

THE

here, becauſe, by inſerting it, I ſhall avoid the neceſſity of being obliged to ſay ſomething like it, on ſeveral other occaſions.

[b] The advancement of the earl of Pembroke to this eminent dignity of lord high admiral of England, as it was not owing at all to court favour, but merely, as I have hinted before, to the expediency of laying that board aſide, and lodging the power of it in a ſingle hand. There were few of our nobility who could have been competitors for ſuch an office, and none that with juſtice could be preferred to the earl of Pembroke. He had much prudence which tempered great vivacity in his conſtitution, and zeal for the ſervice of his country, which

THE new lord high-admiral had a council appointed him by his commiſſion, *viz.* ſir *George Rooke*, ſir *David Mitchel*, *George Churchill*, eſq; and *Richard Hill*, eſq; who were to aſſiſt him with their advice, and alſo in the execution of his office. How far all this was legal, has been, and, I believe, will remain, very doubtful; but at that time no body queſtioned it, and therefore we ſhall proceed to ſhew what was done under it, obſerving, as near as may be, the order of time in which events fell out, and that method in relating them, which is moſt likely to ſet them in a proper point of light [e].

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which was very obſervable in all his actions, though he did not make ſo much ſhew of it, as others might do in words. He had a ſteadineſs of mind, not to be ſhaken by power or titles, and a virtue ſo heroic, that neither the vices of theſe, or of worſe times, could corrupt. He ſhewed on this occaſion, his loyalty as well as ſpirit; for though he refuſed a penſion, yet through the courſe of her reign, he ſerved the queen with the ſame chearfulneſs and fidelity, as if he had retained his poſt; and therefore, in 1708, when prince George of Denmark died, her majeſty reſtored him to it. A full proof of her removing him at this time from no other motive than that of making way for her conſort, who had been ſeveral times mentioned for that high poſt in the late reign.

[e] It is not eaſy to find a reaſon why, ſince the illegality of this commiſſion was ſo quickly ſuſpected, it ſhould afterwards lie ſo long aſleep, and then be revived again, as ſoon as complaints were made to parliament of the conduct of the navy. Thoſe who adviſed this commiſſion, and thoſe who drew it, were certainly very much to blame; and ſince this is a charge of a high nature, and againſt great men, I think myſelf obliged to explain it particularly. As king William's creating a lord high admiral was a benefit to the public, ſo queen Anne's commiſſion was an injury to it. For, by appointing prince George of Denmark a council, ſhe eſtabliſhed again that evil which king William took away; and whereas, the powers of the lords commiſſioners of the admi-

ralty

THE firſt expedition in the new reign, was that of ſir *John Munden*, which was intended for intercepting a ſquadron of *French* ſhips, that were to ſail from the *Groyne*, in order to carry the new vice-roy of *Mexico* to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. This deſign was contrived by the earl of *Pembroke*, and ſir *John* was made choice of on account of his known courage and conduct, as well as zeal and diligence, in the ſervice. He ſailed on the twelfth of *May*, 1702. with eight ſhips of the third rate, the *Salisbury* a fourth rate, and two frigates; when he was at ſea, he communicated his orders to his captains, which hitherto had been abſolutely ſecret. On the ſixteenth he found himſelf on the coaſt of *Galicia*; whereupon he ſent the *Salisbury* and *Dolphin* to gain intelligence in which they ſailed. He then ſent them a ſecond time, and they brought off a *Spaniſh* boat and a *French* bark, with ſeveral priſoners, who aſſerted, that there were thirteen *French* ſhips of war, bound from *Rochelle* to the *Groyne*, and therefore ſir *John* iſſued the neceſſary orders for keeping his ſquadron between them and the ſhore, that he might be the better able to intercept them. Theſe orders were iſſued on the twenty ſeventh, and the very next day he diſcovered fourteen ſail between cape *Prior* and cape *Ortugal*, cloſe under the ſhore, to whom he inſtantly gave chace; but they out-ſailed him very much, got into the *Groyne* before he could poſſibly come up with them. Upon this he called a council of war, wherein it was concluded, that ſince the accounts they had received

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ralty were ſettled by an expreſs act of parliament, here was a new board eſtabliſhed, veſted with like powers; but thoſe unknown to the law, which could take notice only of the lord high admiral, notwithſtanding that this council of his, was appointed by his commiſſion.

received from their priſoners agreed perfectly well, and ſeemed to make it clear, that there were no leſs than ſeventeen of the enemy's ſhips of war in the harbour, which was ſtrongly fortified, and had a narrow and dangerous entrance) it was therefore moſt expedient for them to follow the latter part of their inſtructions, by which they were directed, in caſe they could do nothing on the coaſt of *Spain*, to repair into the *Soundings*, there to protect the trade, and to give notice of their return to the board of *Admiralty* immediately. This ſir *John* accordingly did, about the middle of *June*; but then the ſquadron being much diſtreſſed for proviſions, it was found neceſſary, on the twentieth of that month to repair into port [d].

[d] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 613. where he obſerves, that after chaſing theſe fourteen ſail into the Groyne, ſir John Munden called a council of war, in which his captains took into conſideration,

"I. The intelligence from a perſon who belonged to a "French merchant ſhip, from Rochelle, and ſome Spaniards "taken from the ſhore; the former affirming, that when he "came from Rochelle, he left there twelve ſhips of war in the "road, ready to ſail to the Groyne with the firſt fair wind; "that one of them had ſeventy guns, one fifty, and all the reſt "ſixty; and that the Faulcon (a fourth rate taken from us "the laſt year) was going thither before them.

"II. That the Spaniards are very poſitive the duke of Albu-"querque was at the Groyne with two thouſand ſoldiers, and "that there were already in that port, three French ſhips of "war of fifty guns each, and twelve more expected from "Rochelle; and ſince both theſe accounts ſo well agreed, and "it was judged there were ſeventeen ſhips of war in the port, "that the place was ſo ſtrongly fortified, and the paſſage "thereinto very difficult, it was unanimouſly determined, that "they could not be attempted there, with any probability of "ſucceſs; and that, by remaining in the ſtation, they could not "have any proſpect of doing ſervice: ſo that it was judg-"ed proper to repair into the ſoundings for protecting the "trade."

THE miſcarriage of this deſign made a very great noiſe: It was diſcovered that only eight of the twelve ſhips that had been chaſed into the *Groyne*, were men of war, and that the reſt were only tranſports: It was alſo ſaid, that ſir *John Munden* had called off the *Salisbury* when ſhe was actually engaged with a *French* man of war, and that he had diſcharged the priſoners he had taken very precipitately. To quaſh theſe Reports, and to explain the whole affair to the world (which is, to be ſure, the beſt Method in all ſuch caſes) the high admiral prince *George* iſſued his commiſſion for a court-martial, for the trial of ſir *John Munden*, at which ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were preſent.

THIS court ſat on board her majeſty's ſhip the *Queen* at *Spithead*, on the thirteenth of *July*, 1702, where were preſent ſir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, admiral of the *White*, preſident, and the captains following, *viz. Cole*, *Mynes*, *Leake*, *Greenhill*, *Turvill*, *Swanton*, *Good*, *Mayne*, *Kerr*, *Clarke*, *Ward*, *Cooper*, *Bridges*, *Maynard*, *Crow*, *Littleton*, and *Hollyman*, who being all ſworn, and having examined the ſeveral articles exhibited againſt rear-admiral *Munden*, gave their opinion, that he had fully cleared himſelf from the whole matter contained in them; and, as far as it appeared to the court, had complied with his inſtructions, and behaved himſelf with great zeal and diligence in the ſervice. But, notwithſtanding this acquittal, it was thought neceſſary to lay him aſide, that the ſtrickneſs and impartiality of the new adminiſtration might the better appear. Biſhop *Burnet* indeed charges ſir *John Munden* roundly with ſtupidity and cowardice, and blames ſir *George Rooke* more than

than he, for having recommended ſuch a man[e]. But mr. *Oldmixon*, who was of the ſame party with the biſhop, is pleaſed to ſuggeſt, that it was not ſo much for any fault he had committed, but becauſe he was not in ſir *George Rooke*'s good graces, that ſir *John Munden* was diſmiſſed[f].

[e] This is ſo harſh a charge, that I find myſelf obliged to ſupport it, by citing the biſhop's own words, which are theſe. "Advice was ſent over from Holland, of a fleet that had "ſailed from France, and was ordered to call in at the Groyne. "Munden was recommended by Rooke, to be ſent againſt this "fleet; but though he came up to them, with a ſuperior "force, yet he behaved himſelf ſo ill, and ſo unſucceſsfully, "that a council of war was ordered to ſit on him. They, in, "deed, acquitted him; ſome excuſing themſelves, by ſaying, "that if they had condemned him, the puniſhment was death; "whereas, they thought his errors flowed from a want of ſenſe, "ſo that it would have been hard to condemn him for a de"fect of that, which nature had not given him. Thoſe who "recommended him to the employment, ſeemed to be more in "fault." But mr. ſecretary Burchet, who to be ſure was better acquainted with all the proceedings on this affair, than the biſhop could poſſibly be, delivers his judgment in theſe words. "This was a very unlucky accident; yet the ſame "misfortune might have happened to any other good officer as "well as ſir John Munden, who (to do him juſtice) had, du"ring his long ſervice in the fleet, behaved himſelf with zeal, "courage, and fidelity; and though himſelf and all the cap"tains in his ſquadrons, did unanimouſly conclude, that at "leaſt twelve of the fourteen ſhips which they chaſed into the "Groyne, were men of war, their number agreeing exactly "with the Intelligence from ſeveral perſons taken from the "ſhore; yet, even in that caſe, it is reaſonable to think, that "he would have given a very good account of this affair, "could he poſſibly have come up with them." Naval Hiſtory p. 613. [f] Oldmixon's hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 289. It is very remarkable, that though theſe two writers flatly contradict one another; yet they agree in having each a ſtroke at ſir George Rooke; but as their poiſons are oppoſite, ſo they very happily prove antidotes to each other.

For my own part, I am inclined to believe what the president and council of war declared upon their oaths, that this gentlemam did his duty as far as he could, and it would be a very great ſatisfaction to me, if I could account as well for every miſcarriage that I ſhall be obliged to relate in the courſe of this work.

On the fourth of *May* 1702, her majeſty declared war againſt *France* and *Spain*; this was while ſir *John Munden* was abroad, and I mention it, becauſe this declaration was thought neceſſary before the grand fleet ſailed; the deſign of which, as far as I am able to judge, has been hitherto very imperfectly accounted for. The great view of king *William*, for it was by him the *Cadiz* expedition had been concerted was to prevent the *French* from getting poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*; or at leaſt to prevent their keeping them long, if they did. With this view he reſolved to ſend a grand fleet, under the command of the then high admiral the earl of *Pembroke*, with a body of land forces, under the command of the duke of *Ormond*, on board, to make themſelves maſters of *Cadiz*. By this means, and by the help of a ſquadron he had ſent into the *Weſt-Indies*, and which was to have been followed by another, as ſoon as *Cadiz* was taken, he hoped this might be effected; and he knew very well, if this could be once done, an end would be put to all the *French* deſigns, and they muſt be obliged to terminate the matter, to the ſatisfaction, at leaſt, of the maritime powers. The ſcheme was undoubtedly very well laid, and the ſecret ſurprizingly well [illegible] kept; for though the preparing of ſo great an armament could not be hid, yet the intent of it was ſo effectually concealed, that *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal* too, then in alliance with *France* and *Spain*, had equal cauſe

cauſe to be alarmed; which had conſequences very favourable to the grand alliance in all thoſe countries, as will hereafter fully appear.

AFTER the queen's acceſſion, ſir *George Rooke*, (as we obſerved) was declared admiral of this fleet, vice admiral, and lieutenant of the *Admiralty* of *England*, and lieutenant of the fleets and ſeas of this kingdom: the duke of *Ormond* remained, as before, general of the land forces, and the *Dutch* having joined the fleet with their ſquadron, which had alſo its quota of troops on board, the admiral hoiſted the union flag on board the *Royal Sovereign* on the thirtieth of *May*, 1702; and on the firſt of *June* his royal highneſs the prince of *Denmark* dined on board the admiral, and took a view of the fleet and army, which was ſoon in a condition to ſail. Beſides ſir *George Rooke*, there were the following flags, *viz.* vice-admiral *Hopſon*, who carried a *Red* flag at the fore-top-maſt-head of the *Prince George*; rear-admiral *Fairbourne*, who carried the *White* at the mizen-top-maſt-head of the *St. George*; and rear-admiral *Graydon*, who carried the *Blue* flag in the ſame manner in the *Triumph*. There were five *Dutch* flags, *viz.* two lieutenant-admirals, two vice-admirals, and a rear. The ſtrength of this fleet conſiſted in thirty *Engliſh*, and twenty *Dutch* ſhips of the line, excluſive of ſmall veſſels and tenders, which made in all about 160 ſail. As to the troops, the *Engliſh* conſiſted of 9663, including officers, and the *Dutch* of 4138, in all 13801 [g].

[g] That this was a very great force, and that the public had reaſon to frame great expectations to themſelves, as to its ſucceſs, all the world muſt allow: but, on the other hand, our expectations ought never to prejudice us ſo far as to reſolve not

On the nineteenth of *June*, the fleet weighed from *Spithead*, and came to an anchor at St. *Helen's*. On the twenty-ſecond the two rear-admirals, *Fairbourne* and *Graydon*, were detached with a ſquadron of thirty *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips, with inſtructions firſt to look into the *Groyne*, and in caſe there were any *French* ſhips there, to block them up; but if not, to cruiſe ten or twelve leagues N. W. off *Cape Finiſterre*, till they ſhould be joined by the fleet.

On the tenth of *Auguſt* the fleet reached the rock of *Lisbon*, where the next day they held a council of war. On the twelfth they came before *Cadiz*, and anchored at the diſtance of two leagues from the city, ſir *Thomas Smith*, quarter-maſter-general, having viewed and ſounded the ſhore on the backſide of the Iſle of *Leon*, in which *Cadiz* ſtands, and reported, that there were very convenient bays to make a deſcent: the duke of *Ormond* vehemently inſiſted in a council of war, upon landing in that iſle, in order to a ſudden and vigorous attack of the town, where the conſternation was ſo great, that in all probability the enterprize would have ſucceeded; but ſeveral of the council, eſpecially the ſea officers, oppoſing the duke's motion, it was reſolved, that the army ſhould firſt take the fort of St. *Katherine*, and Port St. *Mary*, to facilitate thereby a nearer approach to *Cadiz*. The next Day the duke of *Ormond* ſent a Trumpet with a letter to the duke *de Brancaccio*, the governor, whom the duke had known in the

not to be ſatisfied with a juſt account of their diſappointment. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that ſir George Rooke ſpoke coldly of the expedition before he ſailed; and this he tells us, to prove that ſir George intended to do the enemy no hurt. But the miſchief lies here, that ſir George ſuſpected they ſhould do no great good, becauſe this expedition was of a doubtful nature; for on the one hand they were enjoined to ſpeak to the Spaniards as friends, and at the ſame time were ordered to act againſt them as foes.

the *Spaniſh* ſervice, in the laſt confederate war: but in anſwer to the letter, inviting him to ſubmit to the houſe of *Auſtria*; *Brancaccio* declared, he would acquit himſelf honourably of the truſt that was repoſed in him by the king [h]. On the fifteenth of *Auguſt*, the duke of *Ormond* landed his forces in the bay of *Bulls*, above a mile on the left of St. *Katherine*'s fort, the cannon of which fired on his men all the while, but with little execution. The firſt that landed were twelve hundred grenadiers, led by brigadier *Pallant*, and the earl of *Donnegall*; they were obliged to wade to the ſhore, and were all very wet when they reached it. In the mean time captain *Jumper* in the *Lenox*, and ſome *Engliſh* and *Dutch* light frigates, kept firing on the horſe that appeared near the coaſt, and they were ſoon after repulſed by the *Engliſh* foot. The duke of *Ormond*, as ſoon as the troops were landed, ſent to ſummon fort St. *Katherine*; but the governor replied, he had cannon mounted, with powder and ball ſufficient to receive him. On the ſixteenth the whole army marched to a camp marked

h The reader will be better ſatisfied as to this matter, if he conſults the collections of Lamberti, tom. ii. p. 251. When the duke of Ormond ſummoned Fort St. Katherine, he declared, that if the governor did not accept his terms, he ſhould be hanged, and none of his ſoldiers receive quarter. To this, the governor anſwered with great ſpirit and juſtice, "That if "he muſt be hanged, it was all one to him, whether by the "duke of Ormond, or the governor of Cadiz; and therefore "he deſired leave to ſend to him for his orders, which was refuſed." Theſe quick proceedings, inſtead of drawing the Spaniards to declare for the houſe of Auſtria, rendered them averſe to it. At leaſt, this was ſir George Rooke's ſentiment, who did all he could to ſerve the common cauſe without provoking the people of that country, whom his inſtructions directed him to protect.

marked out for them near *La Rotta*, a town within a league of the place, where they landed, from which moſt of the inhabitants were fled; but ſtrict orders being given againſt plundering, many of them returned; and, had the *Spaniards* given due attention to the duke's declaration, publiſhed at his firſt coming on the *Spaniſh* coaſt, they needed not to have been in any conſternation.

THE duke of *Ormond* having left a garriſon of three hundred men in *La Rotta*, marched on the twentieth of *Auguſt* towards *Port St. Mary's*. Some Squadrons of *Spaniſh* horſe, about ſix hundred in number, fired upon the duke's advanced guards, and killed lieutenant colonel *Gore's* horſe, amongſt the dragoons, but retir'd on the approach of the *Engliſh* grenadiers, of whom a detachment under colonel *Pierce*, of the guards, were ſent to take Fort St. *Katherine*; which they did, and made a hundred and twenty *Spaniards* priſoners of war. The duke entered port *St. Mary's*, attended by moſt of the general officers, viz. ſir *Henry Bellaſis*, lieutenant-general; the earl of *Portmore*, ſir *Charles Hara*, and baron *Spaar*, majors-general; colonel *Seymour*, colonel *Lloyd*, colonel *Matthews*, colonel *Hamilton*, and colonel *Pallant*, now brigadiers general: and notwithſtanding the ſtrict orders the duke had iſſued againſt plunder, there was a very great failing in the execution of them, for which ſir *Henry Bellaſis* and ſir *Charles Hara* were put under arreſt. When they came to *England*, *Bellaſis* was diſmiſſed the ſervice; and though *Hara* eſcaped publick cenſure, he did not private. Mr. *Methuen*, her majeſty's envoy in *Portugal*, in a letter to the duke of *Ormond*, dated *Auguſt* the firſt gave this wholeſome advice concerning the conduct of the army: that the point of greateſt importance, was, to inſinuate

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to the *Spaniards*, and ſhew by their proceeding, that they came not as enemies to *Spain*, but only to free them from *France*, and give them aſſiſtance to eſtabliſh themſelves under the government of the houſe of *Auſtria*. It being found too difficult to approach *Cadiz* while the *Spaniards* were in poſſeſſion of *Matagorda* fort, over-againſt the *Puntal*, it was ordered to be attacked, and a battery of four pieces of cannon erected againſt it; but upon every firing, the guns ſunk into the ſands, and after a fruitleſs attempt, the deſign was given over, and the troops ordered to embark, which was done accordingly, with intention to make the beſt of their way home. The *Spaniards* did indeed endeavour to diſturb them in their retreat, but with very little ſucceſs; a detachment of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* troops, under the command of colonel *Fox*, having quickly repulſed them, with the loſs of a few of their horſe, who were the moſt forward in the attack, which diſcouraged the reſt ſo, that few or none of our people were loſt in getting aboard their ſhips [1].

In moſt of our hiſtorians, the *Cadiz* expedition is treated as not much to the reputation of the nation in general, and of ſir *George Rooke* in particular. As to the diſorders at

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[1] The truth of the matter was, that the confederates found Cadiz in a much better ſituation than they expected, themſelves worſe received than they hoped, and the general officers ſo much divided in their opinions, that a retreat was thought more adviſeable than any other meaſure in a council of war. If ſir George Rooke, before he put to ſea foreſaw any of the difficulties they then met with, few people at this time of day, I believe, think ſuch a foreſight a diſcredit to him, either as a ſtateſman or an admiral. As to his own conduct, he was called to an account for it before the houſe of lords, and, as we ſhall ſee elſewhere, defended it ſo well, that no imputation could be fixed upon him.

at St. *Mary's*, of which we ſhall hear much more in another place, they did not at all affect ſir *George Rooke*, who had nothing to do with them, nor was ever charged with them. That he did not purſue with great eagerneſs the burning the ſhips, or deſtroying the place, has indeed been imputed to him as an act of bad conduct. Biſhop *Burnet* charges him with it flatly, and ſays, that, before he went out, he had in a manner determined not to do the enemy much hurt. I believe this prelate ſpoke as he thought; but as to ſir *George*, I am throughly perſuaded, that when he went out, and while he was out, he intended nothing more or leſs, than to obey his inſtructions. As to the ſpirit of theſe, we may eaſily gueſs at it from the paſſage in Mr. *Methuen's* letter, before cited, which very fully ſhews, that this expedition was originally concerted on a ſuppoſition, that the *Spaniards* had a natural affection for the houſe of *Auſtria*, and would join with us in their favour againſt the *French*. But in this it ſeems we were miſtaken; and yet it was not thought proper to make this concluſion too haſtily, eſpecially after what paſſed at *Port St. Mary's*, which, conſidering the diſpoſition of the nation, might be preſumed to have provoked the *Spaniards* to a degree not to be appeaſed by all the fine words we gave them in our manifeſto. A candid reader will therefore eaſily diſcern the true reaſon of ſir *George's* conduct. He thought it madneſs to expoſe the lives of the queen's ſubjects where they might be ſpared to better advantage; and therefore was not over fond of burning towns, and cutting throats, to convince the *Spaniards* of our hearty affection for them; which, however, was the language of

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our declarations and his inſtructions [k]. Mr. *Oldmixon* therefore concludes, after a candid relation of facts, very juſtly, and like a man of honour, that however the nation's expectations might be diſappointed in the *Cadiz* expedition, yet there was nothing blameable in the conduct either of the duke of *Ormond* or ſir *George Rooke* [l]. Foreign writers do the ſame juſtice to our commanders, and even ſuch of thoſe authors as are viſibly in the *French* intereſt; ſo that if we decide according to evidence, it is impoſſible for us to join in that clamour which diſcontented people raiſed upon this occaſion [m].

WHILE

[k] This is the ſubſtance of ſir George Rooke's defence before the houſe of lords, who enquired into this affair, and addreſſed the queen that the duke of Ormond and ſir George Rooke might lay the whole tranſaction before them, which was done in the beginning of the next year, and what I have offered in the text, is only to avoid repetitions. A more diſtinct account of the enquiry will be found in the memoirs of ſir George Rooke in the ſucceeding volume.

[l] Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 292. The reader will obſerve, that I lay hold of every opportunity of doing juſtice to our hiſtorians, and therefore, I hope will believe, that whenever I differ with them, it is purely out of reſpect to truth.

[m] The French hiſtorians ſay, that the prince of Heſſe Darmſtadt, whom the emperor had appointed general and commander in chief of ſuch Spaniards as ſhould manifeſt their fidelity to the houſe of Auſtria, did little or no ſervice by the violent memorials which he publiſhed, filled with perſonal reproaches and warm threats againſt ſuch as adhered to king Philip. At firſt, however, it is admitted, that the Spaniards did not ſhew any great zeal for their new prince; but after they were provoked by the barbarities committed at the port of St. Mary, they loſt all patience, and fought with ſuch bitterneſs and indignation, as is ſcarce to be expreſſed. The ſame hiſtorians ſay, that the duke of Ormonde, and his forces, when they attacked Matagordafort, were expoſed to a prodigious fire from the place, while they were able to form no better battery than two field-pieces, and two ſmall mortars, the ground being ſo ſwampy as not to bear heavy artillery. Hiſtoire Militaire, tom. iii. p. 702. Limieres, tom. iii. p. 101. Larrey, tom. iii. p. 544.

WHILE the admiral was intent on bringing the fleet and forces ſafely home, providence put it in his power to do his country a more ſignal and effectual ſervice, than even the taking of *Cadiz* would have been. Captain *Hardy*, who commanded her majeſty's ſhip the *Pembroke*, was ſent to water in *Lagos* bay, where he learnt from his converſation with the *French* conſul, who ſought it in order to boaſt of their good fortune, that they had lately received great news, though he would not tell him what it was. Soon after arrived an expreſs from *Lisbon*, with letters for the prince of *Heſſe* and Mr. *Methuen*; which, when he underſtood they were no longer on board the fleet, he refuſed to deliver, and actually carried them back to *Lisbon*. In diſcourſe, however, he told captain *Hardy*, that the galleons, under the convoy of a *French* ſquadron, put into *Vigo* the ſixteenth of *September*. Captain *Hardy* made what haſte he could with this news to the fleet, with which he however did not meet until the third of *October*, and even then the wind blew ſo hard, that he found it impoſſible to ſpeak with the admiral till the ſixth, when he informed him of what he had heard. Upon this ſir *George* called a council of war immediately, compoſed of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* flag-officers, by whom it was reſolved to ſail, as expeditiouſly as poſſible, to the port of *Vigo*, and attack the enemy. In order to this, ſome ſmall veſſels were detached to make a diſcovery of the enemy's force, which was done effectually by the *Kent*'s boat; and the captain underſtood that Monſ. *Chaſteau-Renault*'s ſquadron of *French* men of war, and the *Spaniſh* galleons, were all in that harbour; but the wind blowing a ſtorm, drove the fleet to the northwards as far as *Cape Finiſterre*, and it came

came not before the place till the eleventh of *October* [n]. The paſſage into the harbour was not above three quarters of a mile over, with a battery of eight braſs, and twelve iron guns on the north ſide, and on the ſouth was a platform of twenty braſs guns and twenty iron guns, as alſo a ſtone fort, with a breaſt-work and deep trench before it, ten guns mounted, and five hundred men in it. There was, from one ſide of the harbour to the other, a ſtrong boom compoſed of ſhips yards and top-maſts, faſtened together with three-inch rope, very thick, and underneath with hauſers and cables. The top chain at each end was moored to a ſeventy gun ſhip, the one was called the *Hope*, which had been taken from the *Engliſh*, and the other was the *Bourbon*. Within the boom were moored five ſhips of between ſixty and ſeventy guns each, with their broadſides fronting the entrance of the paſſage, ſo as that they might fire at any ſhip that came near the boom, forts, and platform [o]. The admirals removed the flags from the great

[n] After reading this account, it muſt ſurprize any man to hear, that biſhop Burnet charges the admiral with want of diligence, neglect of duty, and a diſlike to this ſervice; when nothing can be plainer, than, that he acted throughout the whole of this buſineſs, with all imaginable vigour, and that if he had been inclined to do otherwiſe, he had the faireſt opportunities that could poſſibly have offered for avoiding or delaying the attack.

[o] The French writers are very copious in their deſcription of the meaſures taken by the French admiral for the defence of the fleet; and indeed it muſt be allowed that the diſpoſition was as good as the place would admit. The count de Chateau Renault, was a very gallant and experienced officer; and if, as theſe writers ſay, his reputation was heightened by this accident, then it plainly proves, that our officers acted as well as men could be expected to act. Hiſtoire Militaire, tom. iii. p. 717. Rapin Thoyras continue, tom. xi. p. 487. Memoires hiſtoriques, & chronologiques.

great ſhips into third rates, the firſt and ſecond rates being all too big to go in. Sir *George Rooke* went out of the *Royal Sovereign* into the *Somerſet*; admiral *Hopſon* out of the *Prince George* into the *Torbay*; admiral *Fairborne* out of the *St. George* into the *Eſſex*, and admiral *Graydon* out of the *Triumph* into the *Northumberland*. A detachment of fifteen *Engliſh*, and ten *Dutch* men of war, with all their fireſhips, frigates, and bomb-veſſels, were ordered to go upon the ſervice P.

THE duke of *Ormond*, to facilitate this attack, landed, on the ſouth ſide of the river, at the diſtance of about ſix miles from *Vigo*, two thouſand five hundred men, then lord *Shannon* at the head of five hundred men attacked a ſtone fort at the entrance of the harbour, and having made himſelf maſter of a platform of forty pieces of cannon, the *French* governor, monſ. *Sozel*, ordered the gates of the place to be thrown open, with a reſolution to have forced his way through the *Engliſh* troops. But though there was great bravery, yet there was but very little judgment in this action; for his order was no ſoone obeyed, than the grenadiers entered the place ſword in hand,

P It is perfectly clear from his manner of making this attack, that ſir George Rooke had the honour of his country as much at heart as any man could have; and it is very ſtrange, that among ſo many obſervations, nobody ſhould take notice of the great prudence ſhewn in the forming this diſpoſition, and the courage and alacrity of the admirals, in quitting the large ſhips, that they might have a ſhare in the danger, as well as in the reputation, of this action. If it had miſcarried, we ſhould have had reflections enough on the admiral's miſtakes in this matter; and, methinks, it is a little hard to paſs in ſilence this extraordinary mark of his conduct, and leave it to be commended, as it is, by the Dutch hiſtorians only; as if they alone knew how to value merit, and we were concerned only to leſſen and traduce it.

hand, and forced the garriſon, conſiſting of *French* and *Spaniards*, in number about three hundred and fifty, to ſurrender priſoners of War. This was a conqueſt of great importance, and obtained much ſooner than the enemy expected, who might otherwiſe have prevented it, ſince they had in the neighbourhood a body of at leaſt ten thouſand men, under the command of the prince of *Brabancon*. It was likewiſe of great conſequence in reſpect to the fleet, ſince our ſhips would have been exceſſively galled by the fire from that platform and fort [q].

As ſoon therefore, as our flag was ſeen flying from the place, the ſhips advanced, and vice-admiral *Hopſon* in the *Torbay*, crowding all the ſail he could, ran directly againſt the boom, broke it, and then the *Kent*, with the reſt of the ſquadron, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, entered the harbour. The enemy made a prodigious fire upon them, both from their ſhips and batteries on ſhore, till the latter was poſſeſſed by our grenadiers, who ſeeing the execution done by their guns on the fleet, behaved with incredible reſolution. In the mean time one of the enemy's fireſhips had laid the *Torbay* on board, and had certainly burnt her, but that luckily the fireſhip had a great quantity of ſnuff on board, which extinguiſhed the flames when ſhe came to blow up: yet the vice-admiral did not abſolutely eſcape. Her fore-top-maſt was ſhot by the board, moſt of the ſails burnt or ſcorched, the fore-yard burnt to a coal, the larboard ſhrouds, fore and aft, burnt at the dead-eyes, ſeveral ports blown off the hinges, her larboard-ſide entirely ſcorched,

q The French writers ſay, that at the firſt appearance of the duke of Ormonde's grenadiers, the Spaniſh militia threw down their arms, and fled; and they likewiſe admit, that they forced their way on the opening the gate, as is aſſerted in our accounts.

one hundred and fifteen men killed and drowned; of whom about ſixty jumped over-board as ſoon as they were grappled by the fireſhip. The vice-admiral, when he found her in this condition, went on board the *Monmouth*, and hoiſted his flag there. In the mean time Captain *William Bokenham*, in the *Aſſociation*, a ſhip of ninety guns, lay with her broadſide to the battery on the left of the harbour, which was ſoon diſabled; and Captain *Francis Wyvell*, in the *Barfleur*, a ſhip of the ſame force, was ſent to batter the fort on the other ſide, which was a very dangerous and troubleſome ſervice, ſince the enemy's ſhot pierced his ſhip through and through, and for ſome time he durſt not fire a gun, becauſe our troops were between him and the fort; but they ſoon drove the enemy from their poſt, and then the ſtruggle was between the *French* firing, and our Men endeavouring to ſave their ſhips and the galleons. In this diſpute the *Aſſociation* had her main-maſt ſhot, two men killed; the *Kent* had her fore-maſt ſhot, and the boatſwain wounded; the *Barfleur* had her main-maſt ſhot, two men killed, and two wounded; the *Mary* had her bowſprit ſhot[r]. Of the troops there were only two lieutenants and thirty men killed, and four ſuperior officers wounded; a very inconſiderable loſs, conſidering that the enemy had fifteen *French* men of war, two frigates, and a fireſhip, burnt, ſunk, or taken; as were alſo ſeventeen galleons. As for the particulars of the enemy's loſs, and of what we gained

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[r] It is very apparent from this account, that the action was extremely warm, and that all who were concerned in it, did their duty: and if we conſider how many a tempts of the ſame kind failed in the former reign, and with how ſmall a loſs this great action was atchieved, we ſhall be ſatisfied that our admirals deſerved the higheſt commendation.

gained by this great victory, they are accounted for at the bottom of the page [a].

THIS

[a] French ships taken, burnt, and run ashore.

Ships burnt.	No. of guns.
Le Fort	76
L'Enflame	64
Le Prudent	62
Le Solide	56
La Dauphine	46
L'Enterprenant	22
La Choquante	8
	334

Le Favori, a fireship
Eight advice boats.

Taken by the ENGLISH, and brought home.

Le Prompt	76
Le Firme	72
L'Esperance	70
L'Assurè.	66
	284

Taken by the DUTCH.

Le Bourbon	68
Le Superbe	70
La Sirenne	60
Le Modere	56
Le Voluntaire	46
Le Triton.	42
	342

Total, ships 21. guns 960

Six galleons were taken by the English, and five by the Dutch, who sunk six. As to the wealth on board the galleons, we never had any exact account of it. It is certain, that the

THIS event gave a great deal of trouble to the *Paris* gazetteer: when he firſt ſpoke of this misfortune, he affirmed, that all the plate was carried on ſhore and ſecured, and that we had five men of war ſunk in the attack. Afterwards he retracted the firſt part of the tale, and owned that a little ſilver was taken; but then he added, that nine of our ſhips were wrecked in their return, and all their men loſt; which ſhews how great an impreſſion this loſs made on thoſe who had the direction of this gazette. Father *Daniel* gives a pretty fair account of this matter, and a late *French* hiſtorian very candidly owns, that by this blow the naval power of *France* was ſo deeply wounded, as that ſhe never recovered it during the war [t].

THERE were certain circumſtances attending this ſucceſs of ours at *Vigo*, which heightened its luſtre not a little. Our ſtateſmen had all along kept their eyes upon the galleons, and had actually fitted out a ſquadron on purpoſe to intercept them, under the command of ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*. Orders likewiſe had been ſent to ſir *George Rooke*, by the earl of *Nottingham*, which never reached him; and after all their precautions, ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*'s ſquadron would ſcarce have been ſtrong enough to have undertaken

— ſo

Spaniſh and French ſhips had been twenty-five days in Vigo harbour, before the confederates arrived there, in which time, they debarked the beſt part of the plate and rich goods, and ſent them up the country. The galleons had on board when they arrived, twenty millions of pieces of eight, beſides merchandize, which was thought of equal value. Of the ſilver, fourteen millions were ſaved, of the goods about five. Four millions of plate were deſtroyed, with ten millions of merchandize; and about two millions in ſilver, and five in goods, were brought away by the Engliſh and Dutch.

[t] See the compleat hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1702, p. 391.

ſo dangerous an enterprize. Yet biſhop *Burnet*, not at all dazzled with the brightneſs of this exploit, tells us, that ſir *George Rooke* performed this ſervice very unwillingly, and did not make the uſe of it he might have done; in which, no doubt, he was impoſed on, ſince the fact, upon which he grounds it, is certainly falſe [u].

SIR *Cloudeſley Shovel* arrived on the ſixteenth of *October*, as the troops were embarking, and the admiral left him at *Vigo*, with orders to ſee the *French* men of war and the galleons that we had taken, and that were in a condition to be brought to *England*, carefully rigged, and properly ſupplied with men. He was likewiſe directed to burn ſuch as could not be brought home, and to take all the care he could to prevent embezzlements; and having appointed a ſtrong ſquadron for this ſervice, the admiral, with the reſt of the fleet, and one of the *Spaniſh* galleons, ſailed home, and arrived in the *Downs* on the ſeventh of *November*, 1702, from whence the great ſhips were about the middle of the month, ſent round to *Chatham* [w].

SIR *Cloudeſley Shovel*, in the ſpace of a week, put the *French* men of war, and other prizes, into the beſt condition poſſible; took out all the lading from a galleon, which was made prize by the *Mary*, and brought along with him the *Dartmouth*, which had been taken from us

[u] If ſir George Rooke had been ſo negligent as the biſhop makes him, we had certainly never heard of the Spaniſh fleet at Vigo at all; for though the biſhop ſays, that the admiral ſent to none of the ports (whereas, expreſſes were ſent to them all from Lisbon) yet the matter of fact is clearly this, that ſir George ſent captain Hardy to Lagos Bay, and there he met with the only expreſs that was ſent from Lisbon: ſo that here we have a charge, not only without proof, but directly in the teeth of proof.

[w] Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

in the laſt war, and was now made prize by captain *Wyvill*; but as there was another ſhip of that name in the navy, this prize was called the *Vigo*. He alſo took out of the *French* ſhips that were run on ſhore, fifty braſs guns, and brought off ſixty more from the forts and batteries; after which, on the twenty-fourth of *October*, he ſet fire to the ſhips he could not bring away. The next day he left *Vigo*, but it proving calm, he anchored in the channel between that port and *Bayonne*, where he ſent ſeveral priſoners on ſhore with a flag of truce, and had ours returned in their ſtead *.

On the twenty-ſeventh of *October*, he was again under ſail, intending to have paſſed through the north channel; but the wind taking him ſhort, he was obliged to paſs through that which lies to the ſouth, where the galleon, which was the *Monmouth*'s prize, ſtruck upon a rock, and foundered; but there being ſeveral frigates on each ſide of her, all her men were ſaved except two. He was the very ſame day joined by the *Dragon*, a fifty gun ſhip, commanded by captain *Holyman*, which had been attacked by a *French* man of war of much greater force, and the captain and twenty-five men killed; but his lieutenant fought her bravely, and at laſt brought her ſafe into the fleet. In their paſſage they had extream bad weather, and though the *Naſſau* had the good fortune to make a very rich prize which was coming from *Morlaix*, yet that veſſel foundered the next morning, and the weather was then ſo bad, that

* This ſquadron ſailed from Spithead, the 29th of September, 1702. Sir George Rooke arrived in the Downs, November 7th; and ſir Cloudeſley ſailed the 25th of October from Vigo, and arrived on the 10th of November, off the Iſle of Wight. See the London Gazette, No. 3861.

that the ſquadron ſeparated, every ſhip ſhifting for itſelf; though all had the good luck to get ſafe to *England*, but in a very ſhattered condition [y].

We have now attended the grand fleet throughout the whole expedition, and are next to mention what was performed by ſeveral detachments made for particular ſervices. Among theſe the ſquadron commanded by captain *John Leake*, claims the firſt notice. On the twenty-fourth of *June*, 1702, he received inſtructions from his royal highneſs to proceed to *Newfoundland*, with a ſmall ſquadron, in order to protect the trade, annoy the enemy, and bring the homeward-bound ſhips under his convoy. He ſailed in purſuance of theſe inſtructions, and arrived in *Plymouth Sound* on the twenty ſecond of *July*, where having gained the beſt intelligence he could, as to the ſtate of our own affairs, and of thoſe of the enemy, he ſo effectually purſued the deſign on which he came thither, that by the end of *October* he found himſelf ready to proceed with the homeward-bound ſhips for *England*, having taken twenty-nine ſail of the enemy, and burnt two. Of theſe, three were laden with ſalt, twenty-five with fiſh, and one from *Martinico* with ſugar and melaſſes, eight of which fell into the hands of the *Exeter*, nine were taken by the *Medway*, four by the *Mountague*, as many by the *Litchfield*, three by the *Charles*-galley, and one by the *Reſerve*. Beſides which, he burnt and deſtroyed all the fiſhing-boats and ſtages, *&c.* at *Trepaſſy*, St. *Mary*'s, *Colonet*, great and little St. *Lawrence*'s, and the iſland of St. *Peter*'s at the entrance of *Fortune*-bay, being all very conſiderable eſtab-

[y] See the London Gazettee, No. 3862, 3863, where it is ſaid, that the remainder of the fleet came in under the command of ſir Stafford Fairborne.

liſhments of the *French* in *Newfoundland*, and of the greateſt importance for carrying on their fiſhery there, and breeding their ſeamen. At the latter of theſe places, there was a ſmall fort of ſix guns, which he totally demoliſhed; after all which ſucceſs he ſailed home ſafely, though the weather was bad, and arrived with the ſquadron under his command at *Portſmouth*, on the tenth of *November* in the ſame year *.

In this, as in the former war, nothing gave us or the *Dutch* more diſturbance, than the expeditions made from time to time by the *French* ſhips at *Dunkirk*, where this year they had a ſmall ſquadron under the command of the famous monſieur *de Pointis*. This induced his royal highneſs to equip a particular ſquadron under the command of commodore *Beaumont*, which had orders in the latter end of the month of *June*, to ſail to the mouth of that port, in order to keep the *French* ſhips from coming out. The *States General* had for the ſame purpoſe a much ſtronger ſquadron under the command of rear-admiral *Vanderduſſen*, for reaſons of great importance, as they apprehended; though it afterwards appeared, that the *French* kept ſeven or eight ſhips there purely to amuſe us and the *Dutch*, and to keep us in perpetual motion. According to the informations we had here, the *French* were ſometimes ſaid to have a deſign of intercepting our homeward-bound ſhips from *Sweden* and *Ruſſia*; according to others, they meditated a deſcent upon *Scotland*; and a great deal of pains and expence it coſt us, to guard againſt both theſe deſigns. On the other hand the *Dutch*, who always piqued themſelves on having the beſt and earlieſt intelligence, were through-

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* See the London Gazette, No. 3861.

ly ſatisfied, that the *Dunkirk* ſquadron was not intended to attack us, but them; and that the true ſcheme of the *French* was, to make a deſcent upon *Zeland*; to which purpoſe they had likewiſe information, that a body of eight thouſand land forces was aſſembled near *Oſtend*. Full of apprehenſions on this account, they reinforced their ſquadron before *Dunkirk* to eighteen men of war of the line, and ſent vice-admiral *Evertſen* to command it. This officer found himſelf ſo ſtrictly tied up by his inſtructions, that he could not afford any aſſiſtance to our commodore, when in purſuance to orders from home, he ſent to demand it. However, after ſeveral months fruitleſs attendance, and frequent informations given to the earl of *Nottingham*, that the *French* were at ſea, and gone here and gone there, it at laſt appeared, that commodore *Beaumont* had been all the while in the right, who affirmed in his letters, that they never ſtirred out of the harbour [a].

It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that in the beginning of 1702, died the famous *John du Bart*. He was a native

[a] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 635. Memoirs of John du Bart, p. 315. London Gazette, No. 3857. In all probability, the French themſelves were the authors of theſe pieces of falſe intelligence, on purpoſe to alarm us and our allies, and to keep up the reputation of this formidable ſquadron. Thus much indeed was true, that the people in Scotland were in a great meaſure diſaffected, and the French from time to time promiſed them aſſiſtance from Dunkirk; but the condition of their marine, was ſuch as did not enable them to undertake any thing of importance; and indeed the whole ſtrength of the Dunkirk ſquadron was altogether inſufficient for performing any of the enterprizes that it was ſuppoſed to be deſigned for. In this, therefore, lay the error of our miniſtry, that they had not proper intelligence as to the force of that ſquadron, for this would have rendered it impoſſible for them to have been played upon as they were.

a native of *Dunkirk*, as ſome ſay, though others alledge that he was born at *Newcaſtle upon Tyne*, but being carried over a child, was bred up from his infancy in the ſea-ſervice at *Dunkirk* [b]. This is certain, that his mother was an *Engliſh* woman, and that he ſpent the firſt part of his life in ours and the *Dutch* ſervice; but having nothing but his merit to recommend him he obtained very little, if any, preferment, which diſguſted him ſo much, that upon the breaking out of the former war, he entered into the ſervice of *France*, and roſe there to the command of the *Dunkirk* ſquadron; in which poſt he rendered himſelf ſufficiently terrible to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, by taking more of their ſhips, than almoſt all the other *French* privateers together [c]. He was ſucceeded in his command by the *Sieur Pointis*, who had taken *Carthagena*, and whom the *French* therefore thought it proper to reward; though it is certain he had neither the induſtry nor the capacity of his

[b] See the compleat hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1702, p. 480, 481.

[c] This du Bart performed moſt of his great exploits by mere dint of knowledge. He derived from nature a wonderful genius for maritime affairs, and improved this by a ſteady application to them. His perfect acquaintance with all the coaſts enabled him to perform wonders; becauſe he, generally ſpeaking, had to do with men much inferior to him in this kind of ſkill. He was, beſides, a moſt excellent ſeaman, and never truſted to the care of others, what it was in his power to ſee done himſelf. By this means, he kept his ſhips conſtantly clean, and in readineſs to go to ſea whenever an opportunity offered; and his ſagacity, and ſucceſs, placed him ſo high in the eſteem of Lewis XIV. that he generally made choice of him, for the execution of the moſt difficult enterprizes undertaken during his reign; ſuch as the convoying the prince of Conti to Poland, and the eſcorting the tranſports for the intended deſcent on England, in 1697.

his predeceſſor. But if we had nothing but the inſtance of this year's trouble and expence, in which no leſs than thirty of our and the *States General*'s ſhips were employed in watching the *Dunkirk* ſquadron, it would be ſufficient to ſhew the abſolute neceſſity of keeping that port in its preſent ſituation, and never permitting the *French* to gain by plunder, the effects of other peoples induſtry; neither can any ſlight commerce carried on there, in time of peace, make the maritime powers the leaſt amends for the risk they muſt run, on the breaking out of a war, ſhould this port ever be reſtored [d].

I am now to ſpeak of admiral *Benbow*'s expedition to the *Weſt-Indies*, and of his unfortunate death, the memory of which I could, for the honour of my country, wiſh ſhould be buried in oblivion; but ſince that is impoſſible, I ſhall give the faireſt and fulleſt account of the matter that I am able, having taken all the pains that I poſſibly could, to be perfectly informed of every circumſtance relating to that affair, and ſhall be particularly careful to avoid concealing truth on the one ſide, and no leſs watchful not to exaggerate it on the other. We have already mentioned the cauſe and the manner of admiral *Benbow*'s putting to ſea with his ſquadron, which conſiſted of two third and eight fourth rates. He arrived at *Barbadoes* on the third of *November*, 1701, from whence he ſailed to examine

[d] I hint this, the rather becauſe ſome people have laid a great ſtreſs on our commerce, by means of that port, which they would have us believe turns in the main more to our advantage, than to that of the French. It is certain, however, that ſuch as are of this opinion, have little acquaintance with the maxims of the French government, or the attention that the preſent French miniſtry pay to things of this nature; there being perhaps no nation in the world where nicer enquiries are made into whatever regards commerce.

amine the ſtate of the *French*, and of our own Leeward Iſlands. He found the former in ſome confuſion, and the latter in ſo good a ſtate of defence, that the did not look upon himſelf under any neceſſity of ſtaying there, and therefore ſailed to *Jamaica* [e]. There he received advice of two *French* ſquadrons being arrived in the *Weſt-Indies*, which alarmed the inhabitants of that iſland and of *Barbadoes* very much. After taking care, as far as his ſtrength would permit, of both places, he formed a deſign of attacking *Petit Guavas*; but, before he could execute it, he had intelligence that monſieur *Ducaſſe* was in the neighbourhood of *Hiſpaniola*, with a ſquadron of *French* ſhips, with an intent to ſettle the *Aſſiento* in favour of the *French*, and to deſtroy the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* trade for *Negroes*. Upon this he detached rear-admiral *Whetſtone* in purſuit of him, and on the eleventh of *July*, 1702, he ſailed from *Jamaica* in order to have joined the rear-admiral: but having intelligence that *Ducaſſe* was expected at *Leogane* on the north ſide of *Hiſpaniola*, he plied for that port, before which he arrived on the twenty ſeventh. Not far from the town he perceived ſeveral ſhips at anchor, and one under ſail, who ſent out her boat to diſcover his ſtrength, which coming too near was taken; from the crew of which they learned, that there were ſix merchant-ſhips in the port, and that the ſhip they belonged to was a man of war of fifty guns, which the admiral preſſed ſo hard,

[e] See the London Gazette, No. 3862. where it is ſaid, that all the ſeamen, as well as the admiral and officers, were ſo well accuſtomed to that climate, that they were in very good health, and not above ten men ſick in the hoſpital. See alſo Burchet's naval hiſtory, and the complete hiſtory of Europe.

hard, that the captain, seeing no probability of escaping, ran the ship a-shore, and blew her up. On the twenty eighth the admiral came before the town, where he found a ship of about eighteen guns hauled under their fortifications, which however did not hinder his burning her. The rest of the ships had sailed before day, in order to get into a better harbour, *viz. Cul de Sac*, but some of our ships, between them and that port took three of them, and sunk a fourth. The admiral, after alarming *Petit Guavas*, which he found it impossible to attack, sailed for *Donna Maria* bay, where he continued till the tenth of *August*, when having received advice, that monsieur *Ducasse* was sailed for *Carthagena*, and from thence was to sail to *Porto Bello*, he resolved to follow him, and accordingly sailed that day for the *Spanish* coast of *Santa Martha* f.

On the nineteenth in the evening, he discovered, near that place, ten sail of tall ships to the westward: standing towards them, he found the best part of them *French* men of war; upon this he made the usual signal for a line of battle, going away with an easy sail, that his sternmost ships might come up and join them, the *French* steering along shore under their top-sails. Their squadron consisted of four ships, from sixty to seventy guns, with one great *Dutch* built ship of about thirty or forty; and there was another full of soldiers, the rest small ones, and a sloop. Our frigates a-stern were a long time in coming up, and the

f Mercure historique et politique, 1702. p. 657, where there is a very exact account of his proceedings, while on the coast of Hispaniola. See also an account of the proceedings of vice admiral Benbow, in the West-Indies, in the appendix to the complete history of Europe, for the year 1702, drawn up from his own journal.

the night advancing, the admiral ſteered along ſide of the *French*; but though he endeavoured to near them, yet he intended not to make any attack until the *Defiance* was got a-breaſt of the headmoſt. Before he could reach that ſtation the *Falmouth* (which was in the rear) attempted the *Dutch* ſhip, the *Windſor* the ſhip a-breaſt of her, as did alſo the *Defiance*, and ſoon after the rear-admiral himſelf was engaged, having firſt received the fire of the ſhip which was oppoſite to him; but the *Defiance* and *Windſor* ſtood no more than two or three broadſides before they luft out of gun-ſhot, inſomuch that the two ſternmoſt ſhips of the enemy lay upon the admiral, and gauled him very much; nor did the ſhips in the rear come up to his aſſiſtance with that diligence which might have been expected. From four o'clock until night the fight continued, and though they then left off firing, yet the admiral kept them company; and being of opinion, that it might be better for the ſervice if he had a new line of battle, and led himſelf on all tacks; he did ſo, and the line of battle then ſtood thus g.

		guns.
The Breda,	Vice-Admiral *Benbow* and Capt. *Fog*.	70
The Defiance	Captain *Richard Kirby*.	64
The Greenwich,	Captain *Cooper Wade*.	54
The Ruby,	Captain *George Walton*.	48
The Pendennis,	Captain *Thomas Hudſon*.	48
The Windſor,	Captain *John Conſtable*.	48
The Falmouth,	Captain *Samuel Vincent*.	48

ON the twentieth at day-break, he found himſelf very near the enemy, with only the *Ruby* to aſſiſt him, the reſt

g Burchet, Oldmixon, and the account cited in the laſt note.

reſt of the ſhips lying three, four, or five miles aſtern. They had but little wind, and though the admiral was within gun-ſhot of the enemy, yet the latter was ſo civil as not to fire. About two in the afternoon the ſea breeze began to blow, and then the enemy got into a line, making what ſail they could; and the reſt of the ſhips not coming up, the admiral and the *Ruby* plyed them with chace-guns, and kept them company all the next night [h].

On the twenty firſt the admiral was on the quarter of the ſecond ſhip of the enemy's line within point-blank-ſhot; but the *Ruby* being a-head of the ſame ſhip, ſhe fired at her, as the other ſhip did likewiſe that was a-head of the admiral. The *Breda* engaged the ſhip that firſt attacked the *Ruby*, and plyed her ſo warmly, that ſhe was forced to tow off. The admiral would have followed her but the *Ruby* was in ſuch a condition that he could not leave her. During this engagement the rear ſhip of the enemy's was a-breaſt of the *Defiance* and *Windſor*, but neither of thoſe ſhips fired a ſingle ſhot. On the twenty ſecond at day-break, the *Greenwich* was five leagues a-ſtern though the ſignal for battle was never ſtruck night or day; about

h Hence it appears, that if the Ruby had deſerted admiral Benbow with the reſt, he could have done nothing; but muſt have been obliged to return to Jamaica, which was what his captains aimed at: and if this could have been effected, they had in all probability carried their point, and the whole blame had been thrown upon the admiral; which ſufficiently demonſtrates the merit of the gentleman who commanded the Ruby, viz. the late ſir George Walton, who had, however, been tampered with in his turn by the other captains; but when he came to be ſober and to conſider the matter better, diſcharged his duty as became him.

about three in the afternoon the wind came ſoutherly, which gave the enemy the weather-gage [i].

On the twenty third the enemy was ſix leagues a-head, and the great *Dutch* ſhip ſeparated from them. At ten the enemy tacked with the wind at E. N. E. the vice-admiral fetched point-blank within a ſhot or two of them, and each gave the other his broadſide. About noon they took from the enemy a ſmall *Engliſh* ſhip, called the *Ann*-galley, which they had taken off the rock of *Lisbon*. The *Ruby* being diſabled, the admiral ordered her for *Port-Royal*. The reſt of the ſquadron now came up, and the enemy being but two miles off, the brave admiral was in hopes of doing ſomething at laſt, and therefore continued to ſteer after them; but his ſhips, except the *Falmouth*, were ſoon a-ſtern again; at twelve the enemy began to ſeparate [k].

On the twenty fourth about two in the morning, they came up within call of the ſternmoſt, there being then very little wind. The admiral fired a broadſide with double round below, and round and partridge aloft. At three o'clock the admiral's right leg was ſhattered to pieces by a chain-ſhot, and he was carried down; but he preſently ordered his cradle on the quarter-deck, and continued the fight till day. Then appeared the ruins of the enemy's ſhip of about ſeventy guns, her main-yard down and ſhot to pieces, her fore-top-ſail-yard ſhot away, her mizen-maſt ſhot by the board, all her rigging gone, and her ſides bored to pieces. The admiral ſoon after diſcovered the

[i] See Burchet's naval hiſtory, and the account of the proceedings of vice admiral Benbow, from whence, indeed, moſt of the other accounts are traſcribed.

[k] In this, all the accounts we have, agree; and nothing can be plainer than that, if theſe captains had now returned to their duty, moſt of Ducaſſe's ſquadron muſt have been taken.

the enemy ſtanding towards him with a ſtrong gale of wind. The *Windſor*, *Pendennis*, and *Greenwich*, a-head of the enemy, came to the leeward of the diſabled ſhip, fired their broadſides, paſſed her, and ſtood to the ſouthward: then came the *Defiance*, fired part of her broadſide, when the diſabled ſhip returning about twenty guns, the *Defiance* put her helm a-weather. and ran away right before the wind, lowered both her top-ſails, and ran to the leeward of the *Falmouth*, without any regard to the ſignal of battle [1].

THE enemy ſeeing the other two ſhips ſtand to the ſouthward, expected they would have tacked and ſtood towards them, and therefore they brought their heads to the northward. But when they ſaw thoſe ſhips did not tack, they immediately bore down upon the admiral, and ran between their diſabled ſhip and him, and poured in all their ſhot, by which they brought down his main-top-ſail-yard, and ſhattered his rigging very much, none of the other ſhips being near him, or taking the leaſt notice of his ſignals, though captain *Fogg* ordered two guns to be fired at the ſhips a-head, in order to put them in mind of their duty. The *French*, ſeeing things in this confuſion, brought too, and lay by their own diſabled ſhip, remanned and took her into tow. The *Breda*'s rigging being much ſhattered, ſhe was forced to lye by until ten o'clock, and being then refitted, the admiral ordered his captain to purſue the enemy, then about three miles to the leeward,

[1] It was upon full evidence of this fact, that captain Kirby (whom the Gazette calls Kirkby) was condemned for cowardice though on other occaſions, he had behaved well. It was generally ſuppoſed, that he was the author of this ſcheme; at leaſt, he was charged with being ſo, by Wade and Conſtable.

his line of battle ſignal out all the while, and captain *Fogg*, by the admiral's orders, ſent to the other captains, to order them to keep the line, and behave like men. Upon this captain *Kirby* came on board the admiral, and told him, *That he had better deſiſt; that the* French *were very ſtrong; and that from what was paſt he might gueſs he could make nothing of it* [m]. The brave admiral *Benbow*, more ſurprized at this language than he would have been at the ſight of another *French* ſquadron, ſent for the reſt of the captains on board, in order to ask their opinion. They obeyed him indeed, but were moſt of them in captain *Kirby*'s way of thinking; which ſatisfied the admiral that they were not inclined to fight, and that, as *Kirby* phraſed it, *there was nothing to be done*, though there was the faireſt opportunity that had yet offered. Our ſtrength was at this time, one ſhip of ſeventy guns, one of ſixty-four, one of ſixty, and three of fifty; their maſts, yards, and all things elſe in as good condition as could be expected, and not above eight men killed, except in the vice-admiral's own ſhip, nor was there any want of ammunition; whereas the enemy had now no more than four ſhips from ſixty to ſeventy guns, and one of them diſabled and in tow. The vice-admiral thought proper upon this, to return to *Jamaica*, where he arrived with his ſquadron very weak with a fever induced by his wounds,

m This was depoſed at the trial, and was not denied by Kirby. After this, the officers of his own ſhip preſſed the admiral to retire to Jamaica, from an apprehenſion, that theſe captains, being become deſperate, might go over to the enemy, to which the admiral unwillingly conſented.

wounds, and was ſoon after joined by rear-admiral *Whetſtone*, with the ſhips under his command [a].

As ſoon as he conveniently could, vice-admiral *Benbow* iſſued a commiſſion to rear-admiral *Whetſtone*, and to ſeveral captains, to hold a court martial for the tryal of ſeveral offenders. On the ſixth of *October*, 1702, the court ſet at *Port-Royal*, when captain *Kirby*, of the *Defiance*, was brought upon his tryal. He was accuſed of cowardice, breach of orders, and neglect of duty; which crimes were proved upon oath, by the admiral himſelf, ten commiſſion, and eleven warrant-officers; by whoſe evidence it appeared, that the admiral boarded *Ducaſſe* in perſon three times, and received a large wound in his face, and another in his arm, before his leg was ſhot off: That *Kirby*, after two or three broadſides, kept always out of gun-ſhot, and by his behaviour created ſuch a fear of his deſertion, as greatly diſcouraged the *Engliſh* in the engagement: That he kept two or three miles a-ſtern all the ſecond day, though commanded again and again to keep his ſtation: That the third day he did not fire a gun, though he ſaw the admiral in the deepeſt diſtreſs, having two or three *French* men of war upon him at a time, and that he threatned to kill his boatſwain for repeating the admiral's command to fire. He had very little to ſay for himſelf, and therefore was moſt deſervedly ſentenced to be ſhot. The ſame day captain *Conſtable*, of the *Winſor*, was tried; his own officers vindicated him from cowardice, but the reſt of the charge being clearly proved, he was ſentenced to

[a] The reaſon of his retiring, is given in the former note, and the truth of this account is verified in the hiſtoire de S. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 203.

be caſhiered, and to be impriſoned during her majeſty's pleaſure. The next day captain *Wade* was tried, and the charge being fully proved by ſixteen commiſſion and warrant-officers on board his own ſhip, as alſo that he was drunk during the whole time of the engagement; he, making little or no defence, had the ſame ſentence with *Kirby*. As for captain *Hudſon*, he died a few days before his tryal ſhould have come on, and thereby avoided dying as *Kirby* and *Wade* did; for his caſe was exactly the ſame with theirs°.

UPON

° This is taken from the proceedings of the court-martial, which is referred to in the London Gazette, No. 3878, where we have the following ſhort account of the whole affair. "As "ſoon as M. Ducaſſe, with his ſquadron, appeared in ſight, "the admiral immediately made a ſignal for battle, and at- "tacked the enemy very briſkly, and maintained the fight for "five days; ſo that, if he had been ſeconded by the other "ſhips of his ſquadron, he would certainly have taken or de- "ſtroyed all the French; but four of his ſhips did not aſſiſt "him; the Ruby on the 21ſt, was diſabled, and afterwards "ſent to Port-Royal, and the whole burthen lay upon the "admiral and the Falmouth; who, however, took a prize, "being an Engliſh veſſel, which the enemy had formerly tak- "en from us; diſabled the enemy's ſecond ſhip, ſo that they "were obliged to tow her away, and very much ſhattered the "reſt of their ſquadron, which ſince, is put into Porto Bello. "The admiral on the 24th, had his leg broke by a chain- "ſhot, which yet did not diſcourage him from continuing the "fight; yet, not being able to prevail with his captains to "concur with him in that opinion, he was obliged to give "over his deſign. On the 6th of October, rear-admiral "Whetſtone, by commiſſion from the admiral, held a court- "martial, wherein captain Kirby, and captain Cooper "Wade, were for cowardice and breach of orders, condemned "to be ſhot to death; but the execution reſpited, till her "majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known. Captain Conſtable "being cleared of cowardice, was for breach of orders, "caſhiered from her majeſty's ſervice, and condemned to im- "priſonment during her pleaſure, captain Hudſon died before "the tryal."

UPON the twelfth came on the trials of captain *Vincent* commander of the *Falmouth*, and captain *Fogg*, who was captain of the admiral's own ſhip the *Breda*, for ſigning, at the perſuaſion of captain *Kirby*, a paper, containing an obligation on themſelves not to fight the *French*. The fact was clear, and the captains themſelves did not diſpute it. All they offered was in extenuation of their offence, and amounted only to this, that they were apprehenſive *Kirby* would have deſerted to the enemy, and they took this ſtep to prevent it. But this tale would have hardly paſſed on the court-martial, if the admiral himſelf had not given ſome weight to their excuſes, by declaring, that, however they might be overſeen in ſubſcribing that paper, yet they certainly behaved themſelves very gallantly in the fight. For the ſake of diſcipline, the court, however, thought, fit to ſuſpend them; and yet, to favour the captains, this judgment was given with a proviſo that entirely took off its edge, *viz.* That it ſhould not commence till his royal highneſs's pleaſure ſhould be known.

I cannot help taking notice of ſecretary *Burchet*'s odd way of telling this ſtory: In the firſt place he conceals the names of the criminals; out of reſpect, he ſays, to their families, and becauſe one of them (but he doth not tell us which) had behaved well before. He then turns himſelf to admiral *Benbow*, and gives him a ſort of negative character in the following words. "Thus much may be "obſerved as to vice-admiral *Benbow*'s conduct, that al-"though he was a good ſeaman, and a gallant man, and "that he was qualified in moſt reſpects to command a "ſquadron, eſpecially in the *Weſt-Indies*, in which part of "the world he had had long experience; yet, when he "found his captains ſo very remiſs in their duty, I think he

"ought, in point of diſcretion, to have ſummoned them;
"and even that at firſt, on board his own ſhip, and there
"confined them, and placed their firſt lieutenants in their
"rooms, who would have fought well, were it for no
"other reaſon than the hopes of being continued in thoſe
"commands, had they ſurvived P.

THIS, I muſt confeſs, does not by any means ſatisfy me. Admiral *Benbow* was no prophet: he could not foretel that theſe captains would behave ill, nor could he be ſure that they did behave ill, till they had frequently diſobeyed his ſignals. Part of the time he was warmly engaged, and that could be no ſeaſon for conſultation; and part of the time the weather was foul, and then he could not call them on board. Beſides, he was ſurrounded by bad men, and thought himſelf in ſo little capacity of puniſhing theſe people at ſea, that he retired to *Jamaica* purely to be ſafe. But it would, methinks, have ſuited mr. *Burchet*'s purpoſe better, to have gone to the bottom of this affair, which, for any thing I can learn, the world is unacquainted with yet, and therefore I think myſelf obliged to publiſh it. The admiral was an honeſt, rough ſeaman, and fancied that his command was beſtowed upon him for no other reaſon, than that he ſhould ſerve his country: this induced him to treat captain *Kirby*, and the reſt of the gentlemen, a little roughly at *Jamaica*, when he found them not quite ſo ready to obey his orders, as

P Naval hiſtory, p. 598. The captains who ſuffered, had ſome very great relations, and in all probability, a deſire of being well with them, prevented the inſerting the names of theſe offenders in this celebrated performance. But to be ſo tender of them, and, in the very ſame breath, to attack obliquely the character of ſo worthy a man as admiral Benbow, does no great honour to his hiſtory.

as he thought was their duty; and this it was that engaged them in the baſe and wicked deſign of putting it out of his power to engage the *French*, preſuming that, as ſo many were concerned in it, they might be able to juſtify themſelves, and throw the blame upon the admiral, and ſo they hoped to be rid of him. But his rugged honeſty baffled them; and we may gueſs at the ſpirit of the man, by the anſwer he gave one of his lieutenants, who expreſſed his ſorrow for the loſs of his leg. *I am ſorry for it too*, ſays the gallant *Benbow*; *but I had rather have loſt them both, than have ſeen this diſhonour brought upon the* Engliſh *nation. But, do you hear? if another ſhot ſhould take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out* [q].

THE turn given by the *French* to this affair, is very extraordinary. They tell us, that admiral *Benbow*, at the diſtance of twelve leagues from *Santa Martha*, with ſeven men of war, attacked mr. *Ducaſſe*, who, though he had but four, did not refuſe to fight. The engagement laſted five days, and on the ſixth *Benbow* made all the ſail he could for *Jamaica*. He had a leg ſhattered, and died a little while afterwards: His ſhips were moſt of them in no condition to keep the ſea, more than half their crews being killed. Only one ſhip of mr. *Ducaſſe*'s ſquadron ſuffered, and he had but twenty men killed and wounded in the whole. However he did not care to purſue *Benbow*, who he did not believe to be in ſo bad a condition as he really was, and therefore he made the beſt of his way to *Cartha-*

[q] The reader will meet with ſome other particulars in the memoirs of admiral Benbow, contained in the fourth volume, and communicated by his deſcendants.

gena, where he arrived in a few days, and where his preſence gave now as much joy as it had formerly (that is, when he plundered it in conjunction with monſieur *Pointis*) given terror. This is a very florid, and at the ſame time a very falſe account of the affair, and from thence we may learn the value of enquiries, ſince the court-martial at *Jamaica*, by their proceedings, ſet this whole buſineſs in its true light, and left us undeniable evidence, that it was not their own bravery, but the treachery of *Benbow*'s captains, that ſaved the *French* ſquadron [r].

THE reflections he made on this unlucky buſineſs, threw the brave admiral into a deep melancholly, which ſoon brought him to his end; for he died on the fourth of *November*, 1702, as much regretted as he deſerved. The command of the ſquadron then devolved on captain *Whetſtone*, who in this expedition acted as rear-admiral, and of whoſe proceedings in the *Weſt-Indies*, we ſhall give an account in its proper place. In the mean time, it is requiſite that we ſhould follow the condemned captains home, in order to put an end to this diſagreeable narration. They were ſent from *Jamaica* on board her majeſty's ſhip the *Briſtol*, and arrived at *Plymouth* on the 16th of *April*, 1703, where (as in all the weſtern ports) there lay a dead warrant for their immediate execution, in order to prevent any applications in their favour; and they were accordingly ſhot on board the ſhip that brought them home, and

[r] This French account is taken from the hiſtoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 202, 203, 204. But M. Ducaſſe was too brave a man to gloſs things in ſuch a manner; as the reader will be convinced by reading his letter to admiral Benbow, which will be found in his memoirs.

and ſhewed at their death a courage and conſtancy of mind, which made it evident, that their behaviour in the late engagement did not flow from any infirmity of nature, but from the corruption of their minds; and I hope their example will always have a proper effect on ſuch as are entruſted with the like commands [s].

I ſhould now, according to the order I have hitherto purſued in this work, take notice of what was tranſacted at home in relation to the navy, and particularly of what paſſed in parliament upon this ſubject: But as the queen's proclamation for a thankſgiving, in which honourable mention is made of the ſucceſs at *Vigo*, and the thanks beſtowed by the houſe of commons on ſir *George Rooke* for his conduct in that affair, will appear with greater propriety, when I come to the memoirs of his life; to avoid repetitions I ſhall not inſiſt further upon them here. I muſt however obſerve that, as in the caſe of *Kirby* and *Wade*, her majeſty ſhewed a ſtrict regard to juſtice, ſo with reſpect to admiral *Hopſon*, ſhe gave as lively a teſtimony of her juſt ſenſe of merit, for ſhe not only conferred on him the honour of knighthood, but was graciouſly pleaſed to ſettle upon him a penſion of 500 *l.* a year for life, with the reverſion of 300 *l.* a year to his lady, in caſe ſhe ſurvived him on account of the prodigious ſervice he did in breaking the boom at *Vigo* [t]. But this extraordinary

[s] See the London Gazette, No. 3907. Mercure hiſtorique, et politique, 1703. vol. i. p. 335. [t] This was publiſhed in the Gazette of November 30, 1702, with this addition, that he was introduced to the queen, when he received the honour of knighthood, by the hand of his royal highneſs prince George of Denmark, lord high admiral of England. See the complete hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1702, p. 452.

dinary mark of royal favour did not (as indeed it ought not) ſcreen him from a ſtrict examination in the houſe of lords, in conjunction with ſir *George Rooke*, as to the miſcarriage of the deſign upon *Cadiz*; but upon the ſtricteſt review that could be made of that whole affair, their appeared ſo little colour for cenſuring either of the admirals actions, that, how much ſoever their enemies might deſire it, they were at laſt glad to let this matter fall. Indeed the fleet, though it had not performed all that was expected, had done as much as was poſſible for the ſervice of the nation, and had thereby afforded an opportunity to our worthy miniſter at *Lisbon*, mr. *Methuen*, to draw over from his alliance with the two crowns, the king of *Portugal*, to the intereſt of the allies, and to conclude a treaty of commerce there; which, to ſay no more, has been of much greater benefit to the nation, than many, I might add moſt, of the treaties that have been concluded ſince [u].

THERE

[u] Biſhop Burnet gives this account. "A committe of the "houſe of peers ſat long upon the matter: they examined "all the admirals and land officers, as well as Rooke himſelf, "upon the whole progreſs of that affair. Rooke was ſo well "ſupported by the court, and by his party in the houſe of "commons, that he ſeemed to deſpiſe all that the lords could "do; ſome who underſtood ſea-matters, ſaid, that it appeared "from every motion during the expedition, that he intended "to do nothing but amuſe and make a ſhew; they alſo con-"cluded, from the protection that the miniſtry gave him, that "they intended no other. He took much pains to ſhew, how "improper a thing a deſcent on Cadiz was, and how fatal the "attempt muſt have proved: and in doing this, he arraigned his "inſtructions, and the deſign he was ſent on, with great bold-"neſs; and ſhewed little regard to the miniſters, who took "more pains to bring him off, than to juſtify themſelves.

"The

THERE had hitherto appeared very little of party-oppoſition to the management of the war, and therefore the ſupplies for the ſervice of the year 1703, were very chearfully granted, and very eaſily raiſed, which was the reaſon that the fleet was much earlier at ſea, had all things provided in a better manner, at leſs expence to the nation, and yet ſooner than they had ever been before, which was one great reaſon why the *French* never had any of thoſe advantages they boaſted of ſo much in the former war. In the month of *March* the queen made a kind of naval promotion. The marquis of *Caermarthen* was advanced from being vice-admiral of the *White*, to be vice-admiral of the *Red*; *John Graydon*, eſq; was made vice-admiral of the *White*; *John Leake*, eſq; vice-admiral of the *Blue*; *George Byng*, eſq; rear-admiral of the *Red*; *Thomas*

"The lords of the committee prepared a report, which was "hard upon Rooke, and laid it before the houſe; but ſo ſtrong "a party was made to oppoſe every thing that reflected on "him, that though every particular in the report was well "proved, yet it was rejected, and a vote was carried in his "favour, juſtifying his conduct." The truth of this matter is, that as ſir George Rooke knew nothing of his orders, until he came to execute them; ſo he was abſolutely free from dependance on any miniſter, and ſpoke what he thought with the greateſt intrepidity. The main of his defence was this, that his orders were contradictory, that the chief of them required his bringing over the Spaniards, if poſſible, to the intereſt of the houſe of Auſtria, and the reſt enjoyned him to ſink their ſhips and burn the town, which he found ſcarce practicable; and if it had been more ſo, not at all eligible, ſince at firſt, the inhabitants did not diſcover any great enmity: and if more had been done, it could only have ſerved to have made the Spaniards implacable; and after all, perhaps the town might not have been taken.

Thomas Dilkes, eſq; rear-admiral of the *White*, and *Baſil Beaumont*, eſq; rear-admiral of the *Blue* w.

THE firſt ſcheme that was formed for performing any thing remarkable at ſea, was upon a foreign plan. It was intended that the arch-duke *Charles*, who was to take upon him the title of king of *Spain*, ſhould alſo marry an infanta of *Portugal*, and in conſequence of that marriage, was to undertake ſomething of importance immediately, with the aſſiſtance however of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*; and ſo hearty were the latter, that they ſent a ſquadron of men of war, with near three thouſand land-troops on board, upon our coaſt, and after toſſing and tumbling there for ſome weeks, the project in the council of the *Imperial* court was changed, the deſign dropt, and the *Dutch* went home again x.

SIR

w The ſupplies granted this year, amounted to 3,517,957 l. 7s 2d. which in thoſe days was thought an immenſe ſum, though we have ſince ſeen much larger granted, without being well able to tell whether for peace or war. As to the promotion, it was declared in the Gazette of March 15, 1702. No. 3896, and was at that time highly applauded, becauſe it was generally conceived, that theſe gentlemen were promoted purely in regard to their merit. It was alſo ſaid at that time, that mr. Graydon was advanced on another officer's refuſing to ſerve in the Weſt Indies x This was among the number of thoſe things which gave great offence to the ſtates of Holland. They actually equipt a ſquadron, embarked on board it 3000 land troops, and ſent them ſo early as the month of January, on the coaſt of England, where they were to be joined by twenty ſail of Engliſh men of war, with 3000 land troops: but the Portugueze match being loſt, and the councils of the imperial court taking a ſudden turn, this expedition was dropt, and then it was given out, that it was intended for the Weſt-Indies; which, whatever effect it might have abroad, created abundance of groundleſs reflections at home, as if we had

SIR *George Rooke* had propoſed a ſcheme for diſtreſſing the enemy, by ſailing very early into the bay of *Biſcay*, where he thought, if they had any men of war without port *Louis* and *Rochfort*, they might be ſurprized and taken, or at leaſt the commerce might be interrupted; and for the performance of this ſcheme, he took it upon himſelf y. About the middle of the month of *April* he arrived at St. *Helen*'s, with eighteen ſhips of the line, with which he was very deſirous of ſailing on the intended expedition, without waiting for the *Dutch*; but this propoſition was not at firſt accepted, ſo that he remained there till the beginning of the month of *May*, when he was ſo ill that he kept his bed, though biſhop *Burnet* is ſo charitable as to ſuggeſt, that he was only ſick of the expedition; which, had it been true, was no reflection upon him, ſince the execution of what he propoſed depended entirely on being done in time, and the putting off his departure was chargeable on thoſe who were veſted with that authority which com-

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had neglected making war in that part of the world, where we were moſt able to have carried it on with ſucceſs, and to have drawn advantages from it. But the truth is, our allies would never conſent to our making any conqueſts in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, and this rumour of the fleets going thither, was only ſpread to alarm the Spaniards, and produce ſome good effects in Europe.

y There could not well be a greater ſign of his being in earneſt; and, as to the nature of the propoſal, it was certainly well calculated for preventing the French from reaping any benefit from their trade with Spain, or the Spaniards from feeling any effects of French protection. This agreed exactly with the maxim upon which ſir George Rooke always went, of treating the French as enemies, and the Spaniards as allies. For it was his opinion, and he was not ſhy of declaring it, that it might be very practicable to retrieve Spain, though impoſſible to conquer it. Let it be conſidered, how far this was juſtified, by the event.

commanded him [z]. The truth, however, was, that the admiral found himſelf ſo ill, that he applied for leave to go to the *Bath*, which was granted him, and *George Churchill*, eſq; admiral of the *Blue*, was ſent to take upon him the command. But he not arriving in time, and ſir *George* finding himſelf better, put to ſea, and continued at ſea for ſomething more than a month; and then finding what he ſuſpected at the *Iſle of Wight* to be true, that the enemy had notice of his deſign, and that moſt of their ſquadrons had ſailed; and therefore perceiving that he could do the nation no ſervice by remaining longer on the *French* coaſt, returned home about the middle of *June*, that he might be ready to undertake any more neceſſary ſervice [a]. This expedition

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[z] That I may not ſeem to charge this prelate raſhly, I will produce his own words, "This year things at ſea, ſays he, "were ill deſigned, and worſe executed: The making prince "George our lord high admiral, proved in many inſtances "very unhappy to the nation, men of bad deſigns impoſed on "him; he underſtood thoſe matters very little, and they ſhel-"tered themſelves under his name, to which a great ſubmiſſion "was paid; but the complaints roſe the higher for that; our "main fleet was ready to go out in May, but the Dutch fleet "was not yet come over; ſo Rooke was ſent out to alarm "the coaſt of France: He lingered long in port, pretending "ill health; upon that, Churchill was ſent to command the "fleet; but Rooke's health returned happily for him, or he "thought fit to lay aſide that pretence, and went to ſea, where "he continued a month; but in ſuch a ſtation, as if his deſign "had been to keep far from meeting the French fleet, which "ſailed out at that time; and to do the enemy no harm, not "ſo much as to diſturb their quiet, by coming near their "coaſts; at laſt he returned without having attempted any "thing."

[a] Sir George ſailed, as appears by the Gazette, on the 9th of May. On the 23d he ſent in the Lenox to Portſmouth, with a French Eaſt-India ſhip worth 100,000 l. on the 15th of June, he ſent in lord Durſley, who commanded the

expedition has the misfortune to displease secretary *Burchet*, who says that, in his poor opinion, a squadron of small ships might have had better success; and in my poor opinion, sir *George Rooke* was as good a judge of the probability of this as he. The question in such cases is not the success, but the contrivance and execution of the scheme; and if these be right, the conduct of the commander cannot be wrong, and therefore ought not to be blamed. When sir *George Rooke* returned, he was still so weak and infirm, that he asked and had leave to go to *Bath*, his superiors seeing no reason to censure his behaviour; and therefore, as soon as he was able to undertake it, we shall find him again in command, and employed in a service of much greater importance.

THE grand fleet was commanded this year by sir *Cloudesley Shovel*: It consisted at first of twenty-seven ships of the line, and the admiral had under him rear-admiral *Byng*, and sir *Stafford Fairborne*; and being afterwards reinforced with eight ships more, these were commanded by vice-admiral *Leake*. His instructions were very large; but all of them might be reduced to these three heads, *viz.* annoying the enemy, assisting our allies, and protecting our trade. He waited till the middle of *June* for the *Dutch*, and then was joined only by twelve ships of the line, carrying three flags; and it is certain, that if the force he had with him had been better adjusted than it was

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the Litchfield, with a French man of war of 36 guns, and a West-India merchant-man worth 40,000 l. and on the 22d of June sir George returned with many prizes from the West-Indies. This is the plain English of the prelates *without attempting any thing*.

to the things he had orders to perform, yet the time allowed him, which was only till the end of *September*, was much too ſhort, ſo that it was really impoſſible for him to execute the ſervices that ſeemed to be expected [b]. He repreſented this, and is commended for it by biſhop *Burnet*, who had notwithſtanding cenſured another admiral for the ſame thing before; however ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel* was ordered to obey, and he did ſo, but was not able to get clear of the land till near the middle of *July*, having alſo a fleet of upwards of two hundred and thirty merchant men under his convoy. On the twenty fourth he arrived off the rock of *Liſbon*, where he held a council of war, in which the rendezvous was appointed to be held in *Altea* bay. He purſued his inſtructions as far as he was able, and having ſecured the *Turkey* fleet, he intended to have ſtaid ſome time upon the coaſt of *Italy*. But the *Dutch* admiral informed him, that both his orders and his victuals required his thinking of a ſpeedy return; and it was with much difficulty that ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel* prevailed upon him to go to *Leghorn*. In the mean time the inſtructions he had to ſuccour the *Cevennois*, who were then in arms againſt the *French* king, were found impracticable with a fleet; and therefore the admiral contented himſelf with doing all that could be done, which was to ſend the *Tartar* and the *Pembroke*

[b] This, as I obſerve in the text, is ingenuouſly confeſſed by biſhop Burnet, who carries his reflections on this ſubject very far; he ſays, it was not eaſy to imagine what the deſign of ſo great an expedition could be. Much was ſaid to the ſame purpoſe in the houſe of lords; but nobody reflected upon the admiral, as indeed there was no reaſon for it. But then, I confeſs I do not ſee why the ſame juſtice ſhould not be done to other admirals, when their conduct appears to have been as innocent, or as laudable.

broke upon that coaſt, where they alſo found it impoſſible to do any thing [c]. The admiral then detatched captain *Swanton* to *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, and ſent rear-admiral *Byng* to *Algier*, to renew the peace with thoſe ſtates, and on the twenty ſecond of *September* arrived off *Altea*, from whence he ſoon after ſailed for *England*. On the twenty ſeventh in the *Streights* mouth he met with an *Algerine* man of war becalmed, which he immediately took under his protection, till all the *Dutch* ſhips were paſſed; in which he certainly performed the part of an *Engliſh* admiral, preſerved the reputation of our flag, did great ſervice to our trade, and put it out of the power of the *French* to practiſe upon thoſe piratical ſtates, to our diſadvantage as they had done formerly. Having intelligence that a fleet of merchant ſhips waited for a convoy at *Lisbon*, he ſent ſir *Andrew Leake* thither with a ſmall ſquadron, who convoyed them ſafe into the *Downs* [d].

[c] It is clear, that the Dutch were victualled for ſtill a ſhorter time than our fleet; and, if I durſt, I would ſuggeſt, that our miniſtry were obliged to comply with the ſchemes of our allies, in ſuch joint expeditions. Mr. Oldmixon has given a large account of the attempt made in favour of the Cevennois, and has fully vindicated the admiral's conduct. [d] It is certain, that ſir Cloudeſly gained as much reputation in this expedition, as it was poſſible for an admiral to do, who had no opportunity of fighting; and therefore, thoſe people ſeem to carry things too far, who ſay that this fleet did not either hurt our enemies, or protect our friends; whereas, in truth, all circumſtances conſidered, it did both; and our allies the Dutch, were very well contented with what was done; imagining, that the protection of their own trade, was a matter of as great importance, at leaſt to them, as the ſupport of king Charles's title to the crown of Spain, which the court of Vienna left at that time entirely to the confederates.

On the ſixteenth of *November*, the fleet being off the iſle of *Wight*, the *Dutch* crowded away for their own ports, and left the admiral to ſteer for the *Downs*, which he did; but before he made land, captain (afterwards ſir *John*) *Norris* in the *Orford*, a ſhip of the third rate, together with the *Warſpight* of ſeventy guns, and the *Litchfield* of fifty, being a-head of the fleet, gave chace to a *French* ſhip of war, and beginning to engage about eight at night, the diſpute continued till two in the morning, when having loſt her fore-top-maſt, and all her ſails, and her ſtanding and running rigging being much ſhattered, ſhe ſtruck. This ſhip came from *Newfoundland*, was commanded by monſieur *de la Rüe*, was named the *Hazardous*, and had fifty guns mounted, with three hundred and ſeventy men; but had more ports, and was larger than any one of our ſixty gun ſhips, ſo that ſhe was regiſtered in the liſt of our royal navy [e].

This expedition did not reflect much honour upon the nation, and therefore it created ſome murmurs; but theſe fell where they ought: not upon the admiral, who certainly did all that was in his power, but upon thoſe who framed the project, and gave the admiral his inſtructions, and were thought to have rather more power than parts.

But while the grand fleet was at ſea, rear-admiral *Dilkes* performed a very acceptable ſervice to his country on the *French* coaſt. For the lord high admiral's council having intelligence, that a conſiderable fleet of *French* merchant ſhips, with their convoy, were in *Cancall*-bay, orders were ſent to the rear-admiral, who was then at *Spithead*

[e] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 656. Pointer's chronological hiſtory, and compleat hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1703.

Spithead with a ſmall ſquadron, to ſail immediately in purſuit of them, which he did on the twenty ſecond of *July*. On the twenty fourth he ordered the captain of the *Nonſuch*, to ſtretch a-head of the ſquadron, and ſtand as near *Alderney* as he could, and ſend his boat a-ſhore to gain intelligence. On the twenty fifth he ſtood towards the *Caſquets* for the ſame purpoſe, and at ſix in the evening anchored off the ſouth-weſt part of *Jerſey*; from whence he ſent captain *Chamberlain*, commander of the *Spy* brigantine, to the governor, that he might draw from him the beſt intelligence he could give. The governor ſent to him captain *James Lamprier*, and captain *Thomas Pipon*, who well underſtood that coaſt, by whom being informed of a fleet about forty ſail, plying to the windward on the fifteenth to get to *Granville*, the rear-admiral, upon conſultation at a council of war with the pilots, reſolved to ſail immediately, though the tide fell croſs in the night, that getting clear of the weſtermoſt rocks of the *Minques*, he might attack the enemy by break of day the next morning; which ſucceeded perfectly well; for the next morning, the twenty ſixth, by day-light, perceiving the enemy at an anchor about a league to the weſtward of *Granville*, they, upon his approach, got under ſail, and ſtood in for the ſhore.

THE rear-admiral followed them as far as the pilot would venture, and found them to conſiſt of forty-three merchant-ſhips, and three men of war. Being come within four foot water more than the ſhip drew, he manned all his boats, and the reſt of the ſhips did the ſame. By noon he took fifteen ſail, burnt ſix, and ſunk three; the reſt ſtood ſo far into a bay, between *Avranche* and

the mount of St. *Michael*, that in the judgment of the pilots our ſhips could not attack them; whereupon, on the twenty ſeventh in the morning, it was reſolved at a council of war, to go into the bay with the *Hector*, *Mermaid*, a fire-ſhip, the *Spy* brigantine, a ſhip of ſix guns, taken the day before from the enemy, a ketch fitted as a fire-ſhip, and all the boats of the ſquadron, which was performed between ten and eleven in the morning, the rear-admiral being preſent, accompanied by captain *Fairfax*, captain *Legg*, and captain *Mighells*; as alſo by the captains *Lamprier* and *Pipon*.

THERE were three ſhips equipt for war, one of eighteen guns, which the enemy burnt, the ſecond of fourteen guns, which mr. *Paul*, firſt lieutenant of the *Kent*, ſet on fire, who in this ſervice was ſhot through the lower jaw, and had four men killed, and a third of eight guns, which was brought off. Seventeen more of the merchant ſhips were burnt and deſtroyed, by this ſecond attack, ſo that of the whole fleet only four eſcaped, by getting under the command of *Granville*-fort. The enemy, during this attack, ſent ſeveral large ſhallops from *Granville*, but with no ſucceſs, the rear-admiral having manned a brigantine with eighty men, and another veſſel of ſix guns, with forty who covered all the boats. This laſt veſſel unfortunately run aground, which obliged the rear-admiral to burn her. There were, during the time of this action, about five thouſand of the enemy ſeen on ſhore, but they did not advance near enough to do their own people any ſervice, or ours any hurt. The queen, to teſtify her kind acceptance of ſo chearful and ſo effectual a ſervice, ordered gold medals to be ſtruck on this occaſion, and delivered to the

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rear-admiral and all his officers, who certainly had very well deſerved them. [f]

We are now to ſpeak of the greateſt diſaſter that had happened within the memory of man at leaſt, by the fury of the winds, I mean the ſtorm which began on the twenty ſixth of *November*, 1703, about eleven in the evening, the wind being W. S. W. and continued with dreadful flaſhes of lightning, till about ſeven the next morning. The water flowed to a great height in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and *London-Bridge* was in a manner ſtopt up with wrecks. The miſchief done in *London* was computed at not leſs than a million, and the city of *Briſtol* ſuffered upwards of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. But the greateſt loſs fell upon our navy, of which there periſhed no leſs than thirteen ſhips, upwards of fifteen hundred ſeamen were drowned [g]; amongſt whom was *Baſil Beaumont*, eſq;

[f] See the London Gazette, No. 3937, 3938.

[g] The following is the beſt account that can be given of the particulars of this great loſs.

I. The Reſerve, a fourth rate, captain John Anderſon, commander, loſt at Yarmouth. The captain, the ſurgeon, the clerk, and 44 men ſaved; the reſt of the crew drowned, being 175.

II. The Vanguard, a ſecond rate, ſunk in Chatham-harbour, with neither men nor guns in her.

III. The Northumberland, a third rate, captain Greenway, loſt on the Goodwin ſands; all her company was loſt, being 220 men, including 24 marines.

IV. The Sterling-caſtle, a third rate, captain Johnſon, on the Goodwin ſands, 70 men, of which were four marine officers, ſaved, the reſt were drowned, being 206.

V. The Mary, a fourth rate, rear-admiral Beaumont, captain Edward Hopſon, on the Goodwin ſands, the captain and purſer aſhore; one man, whoſe name was Thomas Atkins, ſaved; the

rear-admiral of the *Blue*, who had been employed all that year in obſerving the *Dunkirk* ſquadron, and had by his great care and conduct preſerved our merchant-ſhips from falling into the hands of the *French* privateers; which ſervice appeared the more conſiderable by the great loſſes the

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the reſt, to the number of 269, with the rear-admiral, drowned. The eſcape of this Atkins was very remarkable. He ſaw the rear-admiral, when the ſhip was breaking, get upon a piece of her quarter-deck, from which he was ſoon waſhed off; and about the ſame time, Atkins was toſſed by a wave into the Sterling caſtle, which ſinking ſoon after, he was thrown the third man into her boat, by a wave that waſhed him from the wreck.

VI. The York, a fourth rate, captain Smith, loſt at Harwich; all her men ſaved except 4.

VII. The Mortar bomb, a fifth rate, captain Raymond, on the Goodwin ſands; all her company loſt, being 65.

VIII. The Eagle, advice-boat, a ſixth rate, captain Boſtock, loſt on the coaſt of Suſſex; all her company, being 45, ſaved.

IX. The Reſolution, a third rate, captain Liſle, on the coaſt of Suſſex; all her company, being 221, ſaved.

X. The Litchfield prize, a fifth rate, captain Chamberlain, on the coaſt of Suſſex; all her company, being 108, ſaved.

XI. The New-caſtle, a fourth rate, captain Carter, loſt at Spithead; the Carpenter and 35 men were ſaved, and the reſt being 193, drowned.

XII. The Veſuvius fireſhip, a fifth rate, captain Paddon, at Spithead; all her company, being 48, ſaved.

XIII. The Reſtoration, a third rate, captain Emms, 387 men, on the Goodwin ſands; not one ſaved.

Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was then in the Downs with ſeveral great ſhips, which were all in the utmoſt danger; he cut his main-maſt by the board, which ſaved the ſhip from running on the Galloper of the breach, of which ſhe was then in view. Sir Stafford Fairbone had his flag, as vice-admiral of the red, flying in the Aſſociation, in which he was driven firſt to Gottenburgh, and then to Copenhagen, from whence he did not get home till the next year. The Revenge was forced from her anchors

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Dutch this year ſuſtained. He was in all other reſpects a man well qualified for the ſervice of his country, and what made his loſs moſt regretted, he died in the flower of his age, and in the heat of the war. Theſe loſſes, how much ſoever they might affect us at home, ſerved in ſome meaſure to raiſe our reputation abroad, for orders were immediately iſſued for building more ſhips than were deſtroyed; and the queen, by ſeveral gracious bounties, gave ſuch and ſo ſpeedy relief, to ſhipwreck'd ſeamen, and to the diſtreſſed widows of ſuch as were drowned, as might have endeared her to her ſubjects, if ſhe had not already ſo fully poſſeſſed their hearts, as to render any increaſe of affection impoſſible [k].

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and with much ado, after driving ſome time on the coaſt of Holland, got into the river Medway; the Ruſſel, captain Townſend, was forced over to Holland, and the Dorſet, captain Edward Whitaker, after ſtriking thrice on the Galloper, drove a fortnight at ſea, and then got ſafe to the Nore.

[k] On the 12th of December, the queen publiſhed a proclamation for a general faſt, on Wedneſday the 19th of January following, which was kept with wonderful ſtrictneſs: In the Gazette of December 16th, the lord high admiral, by an advertiſement dated the 13th, gives notice, that the companies of her majeſty's ſhips which were caſt away ſhould be paid that day month, which was done accordingly; and in the Gazette, No. 3978, appeared the following order.

"Her majeſty taking into conſideration the great loſs ſuſ-
"tained by the families of ſuch as, being in her majeſty's ſer-
"vice at ſea, periſhed by the late ſtorm: Her majeſty, with
"the advice of her privy-council is pleaſed to order, as it is
"hereby ordered accordingly, that the widows and families
"of ſuch commiſſion and other officers and ſeamen as have
"periſhed by reaſon of the late ſtorm, in her majeſty's ſervice
"at ſea, be entitled to her majeſty's bounty in the ſame man-
"ner as if they had been actually killed in fight in her maje-
"ſty's ſervice at ſea, according to the eſtabliſhment in that

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CHARLES, arch-duke of *Auſtria*, being declared king of *Spain* by his father, and owned as ſuch by the allies, ſir *George Rooke* was ſent in the month of *October* to *Holland*, in order to convoy his catholick majeſty to *Lisbon*. There the *Dutch* not being ready, the admiral was forced to continue for ſome time, and then the great ſtorm occaſioned a new delay; at laſt he embarked, and with a joint ſquadron of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips, and a conſiderable number of tranſports, with land forces on board, he arrived at *Spithead* on the twenty ſixth of *December*; he was there received by the duke of *Somerſet* and the duke of *Marlborough*, met on the road to *Windſor* by his royal highneſs the prince of *Denmark*, and was received with all imaginable marks of reſpect by the queen, for whom he ſhewed greater deference than was even expected by the *Engliſh* court. Here we will end the naval tranſactions in *Europe* for this year, and proceed to take a view of what paſſed in *America*, after the death of admiral *Benbow* in *Jamaica* i.

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" behalf. And his royal highneſs prince George of Den-
" mark, lord high admiral, is deſired to give the neceſſary
" directions herein accordingly."

The houſe of commons, which was then ſitting, addreſſed her majeſty upon this melancholly occaſion, deſiring her to give immediate directions for repairing this loſs, and to build ſuch capital ſhips as ſhe ſhould think fit, and promiſed to make good the expence at the next meeting.

i Moſt of our hiſtorians have placed ſir George Rooke's voyage to Lisbon, in 1703, which is what I do not underſtand, ſince he did not leave England 'till the month of January, 1704, and therefore I have contented myſelf with placing that part of his expedition within this year, which fell out in it, and left the reſt to be related in its proper place. I ſhall take

this

THE command devolving upon captain *Whetſtone*, whom mr. *Benbow* had appointed rear-admiral of his ſquadron, he immediately put it into the beſt condition poſſible for going to ſea, and then cruized on the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*. On his return to *Jamaica* an opportunity offered of ſhewing his great concern for the intereſts of the colony. A fire breaking out at *Port Royal* on the ninth of *February* 1703, about noon, burnt it down to the ground before night, leaving nothing ſtanding but the two fortifications. In this ſad diſtreſs, which ſtill would have been much greater, if the ſeamen, with great courage and induſtry, had not aſſiſted in preſerving their goods and ſtores, the rear-admiral publiſhed a proclamation, in which he promiſed to entertain and relieve all ſuch as ſhould deſire it, on board her majeſty's ſhips, until they could be otherwiſe provided for; which he with great care and tenderneſs, performed.

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this opportunity of obſerving, that the archduke Charles was proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna, on the 12th of September, N. S. his journey to Portugal being then reſolved on. The choice made of ſir George Rooke to bring him over hither, and convoy him to Lisbon, was a clear proof that his conduct was equally approved at home and abroad. Indeed it could not be otherwiſe, for every body at this time, was ſatisfied that our miniſtry deſigned to place king Charles III. on the throne of Spain, partly by aſſiſting the Spaniards, who ſhould declare for him, but chiefly by compelling the French to abandon the cauſe of his rival. Now this was exactly agreeable to ſir George Rooke's way of thinking, who was for treating the Spaniards kindly, and fighting only with the French. This being conſidered, we may eaſily account for the making choice of ſir George Rooke, to command this fleet, though it will not be eaſy to divine why thoſe writers bear hardeſt on ſir George's character, who are fondeſt of lord Godolphin's meaſures, which we have ſhewn to be a thing abſolutely abſurd, ſince they thought alike.

performed. Soon after this, he ſailed again on a cruize, in hopes of meeting a conſiderable fleet of merchant-ſhips, which were expected from *France*. He ſpent five weeks, in ſearch of them to no purpoſe; and after looking into *Port Lewis*, not finding any thing there, he ſtood away for *Petit Guavas* and *Leogane*. When he arrived near this port, he divided his ſquadron, becauſe when admiral *Benbow* attacked the enemy here, their ſhips eſcaped on one ſide, as he entered on the other. He therefore ſailed weſtward with part of his ſhips, and ſent the reſt to the ſouth. When theſe came in ſight, three privateers, which were in every reſpect ready for ſervice, ſtood away northward; but the rear-admiral forcing two of them aſhore, burnt them, and the other he took. Captain *Vincent*, who commanded to the ſouthward, rowed in the night into a place called the *Cul de Sac*, where he found four ſhips, one of which he burnt, another he ſunk, the third (which was a conſort of the privateers aforementioned) he towed out, and boarding the fourth, ſhe was blown up by the accidental firing of a grenado-ſhell. From this place the rear-admiral ſailed to *Port de Paix*, but found no ſhipping there; for the before-mentioned privateers were all that the enemy had in thoſe parts, with which, and five hundred men, they thought to have made an attempt on the north ſide of *Jamaica*; and in theſe ſhips were taken one hundred and twenty priſoners[k].

WHILE

[k] Burchet's naval hiſtory, Britiſh Empire in America, compleat hiſtory of Europe, 1704. It is very remarkable, that Pere le Pers in his accurate hiſtory of St. Domingo, has nothing of this expedition, which could not poſſibly have eſcaped his notice any more than that which was intended by the French againſt Jamaica. But as no honour could ariſe to his countrymen,

WHILE rear-admiral *Wheſtone* was thus employed, they were far from forgetting the ſafety of the plantations at home. Sir *George Rooke*, in the month of *September*, 1702, detached from the *Mediterranean*, captain *Hovenden Walker* in the *Burford*, five more third rates, ten tranſports, and four regiments on board, for the *Leeward-Iſlands*; he arrived in *Barbadoes* in the beginning of the month of *January*; and there coming thither ſoon after ſix of our *Eaſt-India* ſhips richly laden, he, by the advice of a council of war, ſent them home under the convoy of the *Expedition*, a third rate, captain *Knapp*, commander, who brought them ſafely to *England*. From *Barbadoes* commodore *Walker* ſailed to *Antigua*, where he joined colonel *Coddrington*, who was about undertaking an expedition to *Guadelupe*, in which captain *Walker* was to aſſiſt him. They ſailed from *Antigua* the latter end of *February*; on the twelth of *March* general *Coddrington* landed with great part of the forces, but was ſo warmly received by the *French*, that they would have been able to have done little or nothing, if commodore *Walker* had not ſent in the *Chicheſter*, which drove the enemy from their batteries, which our men quickly entered. The next day the reſt of the ſoldiers, and four hundred ſeamen were landed, who attacked the north part of the town with great fury, forced the enemy to abandon it, and to retreat into the caſtle and fort, which they defended to the third of *April*, and then blowing them both up, retired to the mountains. After this our troops ravaged all the country, burnt

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men, from the relation of what paſt in this part of the world at this time, he thought proper to be ſilent, rather than record the advantages gained by the Engliſh.

burnt the town to the ground, razed the fortifications, carried the beſt of the artillery on board, burſt the reſt, and with a very great booty embarked without the loſs of a man[l].

THE *French* writers give a different account of this affair, and becauſe the *Engliſh* thought fit to retreat, they will needs have it the proof of a victory on their ſide[m]. Now as to this retreat, there were many reaſons for it, and ſome indeed that rendered it indiſpenſibly neceſſary. General *Coddrington* fell ſick, and was forced to return to *Nevis*; then colonel *Whetham*, upon whom the command devolved, fell alſo dangerouſly ill, and was carried to *Antigua*. The command of the land-forces fell next to colonel *Willis*, who, upon certain information, that the *French* had landed nine hundred men on the back of the iſland, called a council of war, in which it was reſolved to embark the forces; and this was accordingly done, as I have before obſerved, on the ſeventh of *May*. It muſt be acknowledged, that this ſervice ſuffered not a little from ſome diſputes that happened between the land and ſea-officers;

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[l] There were ſome unlucky circumſtances attended this expedition. In the firſt place when captain Walker arrived, the land forces had no powder, with which, however, they were furniſhed from the fleet. When they came next to examine their ſtores cloſely, it was found, that in a thouſand flints, there were not fifty fit for muſquets, nor had they mortars, bombs, pick axes, ſpades, or indeed any thing proper and convenient for a ſiege. But we muſt take care not to attribute this miſmanagement either to commodore Walker, who commanded here, or to ſir George Rooke, who ſent him, ſince they both acted in obedience to orders; the commodore to thoſe of the admiral, and the admiral receiving his from the miniſtry, who ought to have conſidered better what they were doing.

[m] Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iv. P. Daniel, Limiers, &c.

officers; which is, generally ſpeaking, the ruin of our *Weſt-India* expeditions [n].

As ſoon as the news of vice-admiral *Benbow*'s misfortune and death arrived in *England*, it was reſolved to ſend another flag-officer thither with a conſiderable ſquadron. This command, it is ſaid, was offered to ſir *Stafford Fairborne*, who refuſed it; and then it was propoſed to mr. *Grayden*, who, though a certain prelate ſtiles him a brutal man, made this anſwer, "That it was his duty to go where the "queen thought proper to command him, and that he "knew no difference of climates, when he was to obey "her orders." His inſtructions may be found at large in *Burchet*, and the ſtrength he was to take with him, conſiſting only of a third, a fourth, and a fifth rate; which laſt proved unfit for the voyage, and therefore the *Montague* of ſixty, and the *Nonſuch* of fifty guns, were ordered

[n] The governors of our colonies have ſcarce ever been able to agree with the commanders of our ſquadrons; and with reſpect to this very expedition, there were as warm complaints made againſt the commodore, as ever came from the Weſt-Indies: but he repreſented, that the road of Guadalupe was exceſſively bad; that he found it impoſſible to procure pilots; that ſeveral of the ſhips loſt their anchors, the ground being foul, and the water deep, ſo that ſome or other were daily forced out to ſea: and added to this, that the troops were under exceſſive difficulties, having no guides to conduct them, and being under the utmoſt want of neceſſaries to ſupport them. Beſides, the iſland was not abandoned, till the expedition had coſt us pretty dear, as appears by the following account of our loſs. There were killed in the firſt action, one major, two captains, ſix lieutenants; and wounded, two colonels, ſeven captains, and nine lieutenants; and three enſigns died. One hundred and fifty-four ſoldiers were killed; two hundred and eleven wounded; ſeventy-two died; fifty-nine deſerted; and twelve were taken priſoners.

ordered to ſee him a hundred and fifty leagues into the ſea [o]. They ſailed about the middle of *March*, and on the eighteenth of that month they ſaw four *French* ſhips to leeward, *viz.* two of ſixty, one of fifty, and another of forty guns. This laſt being both the ſmalleſt and ſternmoſt, the *Montague*, commanded by captain *William Cleland*, bore down to, and ſoon after engaged her. Hereupon the vice-admiral made the ſignal for a line of battle, and conſequently for the *Montague*'s coming off; but her fore-top-ſail being ſhot in pieces the ſecond broadſide ſhe received from the enemy, ſhe could not tack ſo ſoon as otherwiſe might have been expected, inſomuch, that the other three *French* ſhips wore, and bearing down to the ſhip that had been engaged, each of them fired her broadſide at the *Montague*; but ſhe being to windward, and the ſea running high, as the *French* generally fire in hopes of wounding maſts, yards, or rigging, all their ſhot flew over her, ſo that ſhe received not any conſiderable damage. The *French* ſhips (which now made the beſt of their way from ours) were foul, for they were part of the ſquadron under command of monſieur *du Caſſe*, with which vice-admiral *Benbow* engaged in the *Weſt-Indies*, and (as it was reported) were very rich [p].

THIS Affair drew very heavy reproaches on the admiral, who, notwithſtanding, ſeems to have acted according to the beſt of his abilities; and in ſaying, this, I am warranted by the judgment of the *Admiralty*-board, who were

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o See Burchet's naval hiſtory, the complete hiſtory of Europe for 1702, Oldmixon, life of queen Anne, &c. p Burchet's naval hiſtory, London Gazette, No. 3910.

were beſt acquainted with mr. *Graydon's* inſtructions[q]. He proceeded with all imaginable diligence in his voyage, and arrived at the iſland of *Madeira* on the tenth of *April*, 1703; and from thence he ſailed to *Barbadoes*, where he arrived the twelfth of *May*. The day before came a brigantine from *Guadalupe*, with advice that commodore *Walker* was there, and that both ſeamen and ſoldiers were in danger of being ſtarved for want of proviſions. The vice-admiral thereupon applied himſelf to the agent-victualler, and having furniſhed himſelf with all the beef, pork, bread, and peaſe that could be got, he ſailed on the ſeventeenth. On the twentieth he ran in with the fort and town of *Guadalupe*, and ſeeing it in ruins, he ſailed inſtantly for *Antigua*, and from thence to *Nevis*, where he met

[q] Biſhop Burnet blames the admiralty for inſerting a paragraph in the Gazette, to juſtify the admiral's conduct. It is neceſſary the reader ſhould ſee that paragraph, which runs thus. "Plymouth, April 26, the Montague, captain Cleve-"land, commander, is come in here: the Nonſuch, and ſhe "went from thence the 13th of March, with vice-admiral "Graydon, in the Reſolution, captain Day in the Blackwall, "the tranſports with brigadier Columbine's regiment, ſtore-"ſhips, and merchants, bound to the Weſt-Indies, and part-"ed from them on the 26th of the ſame, in the latitude of "43 degrees. The captain ſays, that on the 18th of that "month, in the latitude of 47 degrees, 30 minutes, they "met four French men of war, and that he engaged the "ſternmoſt for ſome time; but upon his firſt engaging, the "vice-admiral made a ſignal to call him off, being under "orders not to loſe any time in his paſſage, by chaſing or "ſpeaking with any ſhips whatſoever; the contrary winds "having kept him here much longer than was intended, and "the ſervice upon which he was bound, very much requiring "his preſence, and the regiment that was with him". The ſingle queſtion that aroſe on this ſubject was, whether admiral Graydon obeyed his orders? And this is plainly decided by the foregoing paragraph in the affirmative.

met with the army and ſquadron in the greateſt diſtreſs; and having relieved them, he proceeded thence with all the ſhips of war to *Jamaica*, where they arrived the fourteenth of *June*[r]. The firſt thing he did there, was to direct a ſurvey of the ſhips under his command; which proved to be very defective, not only in their hulls, but in their maſts, ſtores and rigging; and at the ſame time very ill manned. This, together with ſome differences that aroſe between the admiral and ſome of the principal perſons in *Jamaica*, determined him to ſail home as ſoon as poſſible: and accordingly, having left the *Norwich*, the *Experiment*, and the *Sea-Horſe*, with the *Harman* and *Earl*-galley, fire-ſhips, together with two ſloops, to attend the iſland; and the *Colcheſter* and *Sunderland* to convoy home the latter trade, he ſailed for *Blewfields*, and proceeding from thence he fell in with *Newfoundland* on the ſecond of *Auguſt*.[s]

In the evening of that day there aroſe ſuch a fog as had ſcarce ever been ſeen; for it laſted thirty days compleat, and the weather was ſo very dark, that it was difficult to diſcover one ſhip from another: this occaſioned the diſperſion of the fleet, which could not be brought together again till the third of *September*, when the vice-admiral thought it proper to conſult his officers, as to the principal deſign of his voyage, which was the attacking the *French* at *Placentia*, and thereby forcing them to quit *Newfoundland*. At this council of war, there were preſent,

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r Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 605. This was certainly a very ſignal ſervice done to the nation; ſince, if the admiral had acted leſs vigorouſly in procuring a ſupply, our troops muſt neceſſarily have periſhed for want. s Burchet's naval hiſtory, Lediard, Oldmixon, annals of queen Ann, &c.

ſent, beſides the vice-admiral, rear-admiral *Whetſtone*, and thirteen ſea-captains; of the land-officers, the commander in chief, colonel *Rivers*, ſix captains, and an engineer. They took into conſideration the queen's inſtructions to brigadier *Columbine*, then deceaſed, and thoſe to mr. *Graydon*, and finding all their ſhips in a very ſad condition, that they were thinly manned, and moſt of them ſick, already at ſhort allowance, and the ſoldiers being forced to drink water in ſo cold a climate, had their limbs benumned, and were ſcarce fit for ſervice; that the five regiments were reduced to one thouſand thirty five men; that of five hundred they were to receive from *New England* there came but ſeventy, which were now reduced to twenty-five, and thoſe in a manner diſabled; and that from the beſt account, the enemy at *Placentia* were judged to be not only ſuperior in number, and conſequently able to make a good reſiſtance, but that the avenues to the place were extreamly difficult, the grounds marſhy, and no planks, or other materials, for mounting the guns on the batteries; theſe difficulties and obſtructions being maturely conſidered, together with the good circumſtances the enemy were in, and the aſſiſtance they might have from their privateers, and other ſhipping then at *Placentia*; the council of war were unanimouſly of opinion, that to make an attempt on that place with the ſhips and forces at ſuch a ſeaſon of the year, was altogether impracticable; and that, inſtead of any probability of ſucceſs, it might tend to the diſhonour of her majeſty's arms [t].

[t] I tranſcribe this from a MS. account of admiral Graydon's defence, in which are particular certificates as to the truth

THIS was the end of vice-admiral *Graydon*'s unfortunate expedition; in which, though it is certain on the one Hand, that he did not do the nation any remarkable ſervice, yet it is no leſs certain on the other, that in reſpect to protecting the trade, and the reſt of the things in his power, he did all the ſervice he was able. But it was his misfortune, firſt to feel the effects of other mens miſtakes, and next to be made anſwerable for them. On his return, the houſe of lords entered into an enquiry into his conduct; and, beſides their former warm vote, which was more than enough to have undone him, came to a reſolution of addreſſing her majeſty, to remove him from all employments for impreſſing ſervants in the *Weſt Indies*; deſiring her, at the ſame time, to direct the attorney-general to proſecute him for that offence u. This had the deſired effect: vice-admiral *Graydon* (as to ſervice) was laid aſide, and his memory has been loaded with the foulеſt imputations; though there is great reaſon to believe, that he was rather unlucky than unjuſt, and that he ſuffered for miſcarriages which it was not in his power to avoid. In order to have a clearer idea of this, we muſt conſider that he juſtified himſelf as to his not fighting the *French*, under his orders, which were very preciſe upon that head; and, if he had not obeyed them, he muſt have been

truth of each of theſe facts, and which, I ſuppoſe, ſatisfied the houſe of lords as to this part of the charge; which the admiral looked upon as that which would affect him moſt, ſince here he had not executed his orders, but avoided attacking the French.

u See the journal of the houſe of lords. I do not find that the admiral was ever proſecuted; and I gueſs, from a reflection of Mr. Oldmixon, that he was not.

been anſwerable for all the conſequences before a court-martial; while on the other hand the lords as the ſupreme judicature, decided in this caſe, on the reaſon of the thing; and becauſe, as they thought, the neceſſity of fighting ought, in his judgment, to have ſuperceded his orders; yet, when he pleaded neceſſity in excuſe of impreſſing ſervants, this would not ſerve his turn; but he was puniſhed in that caſe as ſeverely for making uſe of his own judgment, as for a ſuppoſed neglect of it in the other.

In all probability the reſentment of the houſe of lords againſt this gentleman, was ſharpened by their inſpecting cloſely into other affairs relating to the navy; in which, it muſt be confeſſed, they found things very indifferently managed. As for Inſtance, complaints had been made to the lord high admiral, of bad proviſions, by which the ſeamen were poiſoned, as well as the nation cheated; yet a ſurvey of the proviſions complained of was delayed for three months, which gave a great opportunity for making ſuch removes and changes, as rendered the proof of this charge altogether impracticable. The merchants complained that they were ill ſerved with convoys, and that ſo little care was taken of the *Newcaſtle* fleet, as occaſioned an exceſſive riſe of coals; the neglect of providing for ſuch ſeamen as were priſoners in *France*, was likewiſe rendered very evident; as was the danger of the iſland of *Jamaica*, and the betraying our naval councils to the *French*. Theſe were all digeſted into an addreſs, which was preſented by the houſe of lords to the queen; to which her majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, that the addreſs conſiſted of ſo many parts, that ſhe could not then take notice of them. In the general, however, ſhe promiſed

miſed ſhe would conſider of them, and give ſuch directions as ſhould be proper for the ſafety and welfare of the nation. I think it neceſſary to obſerve here, that at this time there were very warm diſputes in the houſe of lords, as to the conduct of the *Admiralty* in the late reign, which had been cenſured by the houſe of commons, and in a great meaſure juſtified here; ſo that at this ſeaſon all the ſtrength of party was exerted on both ſides, and the merit of a man was leſs conſidered, than the faction to which he attached himſelf [w]. But it is time to leave ſo troubleſome and unentertaining a ſubject, in order to return to the conduct of the war, and the great things performed in the year 1704, for the ſervice of which the commons granted upwards of four millions; and of this, the ſum of [x] was for the ſervice of the navy: which ſhews, how deſirous the nation was of ſupporting the war to the utmoſt, and of giving whatever was neceſſary for the ſervice

[w] The queen, by ſoft anſwers, endeavoured to pacify both houſes, which indeed was the only meaſure left for her to purſue; ſince, if ſhe had complied with either of their demands, it muſt have inflamed both. Her prudence, therefore, in this reſpect, was very conſpicuous; though perhaps the righteſt ſtep ſhe could have taken, would have been to have diſmiſſed his royal highneſs's council as lord high admiral, and either reſtor'd the earl of Pembroke or appointed commiſſioners.

[x] The reader will probably be ſurprized to find a blank in the text: but the reaſon is, that after uſing the utmoſt induſtry, I have not been able to diſcover what the ſum was; which I find has been the caſe of other aſſiduous enquirers, as well as myſelf. I cannot, however, fall into their opinon, that there was no proviſion made for the ordinary of the navy this year; but rather imagine that, by ſome miſtake, the ſum appropriated for that ſervice, was omitted in the votes; and therefore I leave this blank, in hopes that ſome more intelligent Reader may be able to fill it up.

vice of the common cauſe, in hopes that it would be honeſtly and effectually laid out, for thoſe great and ſalutary purpoſes for which it was ſo chearfully given.

THE king of *Spain* was very deſirous of proſecuting his voyage to *Lisbon*, and therefore came to *Portſmouth*, and would have embarked on the firſt of *February*, if the wind had been at all favourable. Sir *George Rooke*, who was to command the fleet that eſcorted him, and the land-forces intended for his ſervice, did every thing that could be expected to facilitate the expedition: for when he found the tranſports were ready, and that it was impoſſible to have the intended number of great ſhips ſo early at ſea, he propoſed ſailing with a ſmall ſquadron to *Lisbon*, and waiting there for a reinforcement. This was a very wiſe, as well as vigorous ſtep; for, according to the informations our court had received of the deſigns of *France*, they intended to have a great naval ſtrength in the *Mediterranean*, which, if it came there earlier than our reinforcement would have been able to have ſhut up our ſmall fleet then in thoſe parts in the river of *Lisbon*, and have intercepted all our trade homeward-bound; whereas, if, according to ſir *George*'s ſcheme, the ſupply arrived early enough at *Lisbon*, our fleet would be ſo ſtrong as to prevent the junction of the *Breſt* with the *Toulon* ſquadron, and to perform other requiſite ſervices on the coaſt of *Spain* y.

y This was certainly a very wiſe and well-judged ſcheme, and is a clear and direct proof that ſir George Rooke was very deſirous of doing as much ſervice as poſſible, and to loſe no opportunity of being early in the action; his going on this expedition, with the ſmall ſquadron under his command, was liable to many exceptions, if conſidered in a prudential light, and with a view to the credit of the admiral; but ſir George diſre-

In the firſt part of his deſign, Sir *George* was as fortunate as he could wiſh; for ſailing on the twelfth of *February*, he, after a fine paſſage, arrived with the ſquadron, and all the tranſports, in the river of *Lisbon*, on the twenty fifth; and after two days had been ſpent in adjuſting the ceremonial, his catholick majeſty was conducted to ſhore by the king of *Portugal*, and moſt of the royal family. Among other debates in relation to this ceremony, there was one which deſerves particular notice, and that was in relation to our flag. The king of *Portugal* deſired that, upon his coming on board the admiral's ſhip in his veſſel of ſtate, and ſtriking his ſtandard, the *Engliſh* flag might be ſtruck at the ſame time; and that when his catholick majeſty, with himſelf, ſhould go off from the ſhip, his ſtandard might be hoiſted, and the admiral's flag continue ſtruck until they were on ſhore. This propoſition was made from the king of *Portugal* by the king of *Spain*; to which the admiral replied, that his majeſty, ſo long as he ſhould be on board, might command the flag to be ſtruck when he pleaſed; but that whenever he deſt the ſhip, he was himſelf admiral, and obliged to execute his commiſſion by immediately hoiſting his flag. This, and ſome other reaſons, ſatisfied the king of *Spain*; as well as his *Portugueze* majeſty; ſo that the flag of *England* was no longer ſtruck, than the ſtandard of *Portugal*[z].

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garded theſe, when they came into competition with the public ſervice, and choſe rather to riſk his own character, than the nation's honour, and the proſpect the king of Spain then had of ſucceſs, of which his catholic majeſty was extreamly ſenſible, and gave upon all occaſions, the moſt ample teſtimonies of his particular reſpect for ſir George Rooke, and juſt acknowledgment of his ſervices.

[z] We take this paſſage from the account publiſhed by authority; and I think I may venture to aſſert, that ſir George Rooke's

Two days after this, the admiral, in compliance with the reſolution of a council of war, ſent a ſquadron of ſeventeen ſail to cruize off Cape *Spartell*; which ſquadron was afterwards increaſed to twenty-two ſail. On the ninth of *March* the admiral himſelf put to ſea, and continued cruizing for a month. Rear-admiral *Dilkes*, who commanded the ſquadron beforementioned, on the twelfth of *March* in the morning, diſcovered four ſail of ſhips ſtanding to

Rooke's concern for the Honour of the flag, became him very well, as an Engliſh admiral, whatever might be thought of it at home by ſome Engliſh ſtateſmen. Biſhop Burnet, ſpeaking of our treaty with the king of Portugal, mentions a very extraordinary incident relating to this affair, which I find it neceſſary to tranſcribe. "In this treaty, an accident "happened, that had almoſt ſpoiled all: the king of Portu- "gal inſiſted on demanding the flag, and other reſpects to "be paid by our admiral, when he was in his ports. The "earl of Nottingham inſiſted it was a diſhonour to England "to ſtrike, even in another king's ports. This was not de- "manded of the Fleet, that was ſent to bring over queen Kathe- "rine; ſo, though Methuen, our ambaſſador, had agreed to this "article, he preſſed the queen not to ratify it."——"The "lord Godolphin looked on this, as too inconſiderable to be "inſiſted on; the whole affairs of Europe ſeemed to turn upon "this treaty, and ſo important a matter ought not to be re- "tarded a day, for ſuch punctilios, as a ſalute, or ſtriking "the flag; and it ſeemed reaſonable, that every ſovereign "prince ſhould claim theſe acknowlegements, unleſs where "it was otherwiſe ſtipulated by expreſs treaties. The laying "ſo much weight on ſuch matters, very much heightened "jealouſies; and it was ſaid, that the earl of Nottingham, "and the tories ſeemed to lay hold of every thing that could "obſtruct the progreſs of the war; while the round proceed- "ing of the lord Godolphin reconciled many to him."—The friends of the earl of Godolphin need be under no concern about this ſtory, ſince it is moſt evident from the foregoing account of ſir George Rooke's conduct, that the fact is falſe, and that the honour of the Engliſh flag was never given up.

the N. E. He had with him three third rates, and two fourth, *viz. The Kent*, *Bedford*, *Suffolk*, *Antelope*, and *Panther*. By eleven he came up with them, and the *Panther*, which was the headmoſt of ours, engaged them; the *Suffolk* getting the wind of them, did the ſame, as alſo the *Antelope*, and the *Dutch* privateer; inſomuch, that the ſhip of ſixty guns ſtruck, after exchanging ſeveral broadſides. The rear-admiral could not get his own ſhip in reach of them until noon, and then engaging the commodore, which was a ſhip of ſixty guns, ſhe ſtruck to him in a little time, having loſt half her complement of men, as the third did ſoon after, which was a ſhip of twenty four guns; and in this action the *Panther* had her fore-top-maſt ſhot by the board, the *Suffolk* her main-maſt, and the *Antelope*'s maſts and yards were wounded. The two ſhips beforementioned of ſixty guns, were galleon men of war, one called the *Porta Cæli*, and the other the *St. Thereſa*, and came from St. *Sebaſtians*, with bombs, guns, iron bars, *&c.* being bound for *Cadiz*, where (as it was reported) they were to be fitted out for the *Weſt-Indies*, the commodore Don *Diego Bicuna*, having a commiſſion to command all the fleet deſigned thither; and in theſe ſhips were taken near ſeven hundred priſoners[a].

THE rear-admiral, by reaſon of bad weather, did not arrive at *Liſbon* till the twenty fifth of *March*, and then in going in he loſt the *St. Thereſa*, but moſt of the men were ſaved. Sir *George Rooke* being alſo returned, and meeting with orders to ſail up the *Streights*, prepared to execute them. though at the ſame time, the admiral was extreamly preſ-

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[a] See the London Gazettee, 4008.

ſed by his catholick majeſty to undertake ſomewhat in his favour. The difficulties with which ſir *George* was at this time encompaſſed were many and great. In the firſt place, the reinforcement he depended on, was not arrived; in the next, the Queen's orders were poſitive for the relief of *Nice* and *Villa Franca*, and he knew how great a riſque he ran, in caſe either of thoſe places were taken for want of timely ſuccour. The deſign formed in favour of king *Charles* III. to invade *Catalonia*, and make an attempt on *Barcelona*, was almoſt ripe for execution, and that monarch inſiſted very ſtrenuouſly that the fleet ſhould eſcort this embarkation. In this thorny conjuncture the admiral reſolved to do as much as in him lay to ſatisfy all parties; and we ſhall hereafter ſee with how great judgment he executed this reſolution: In the mean time it is neceſſary that we ſhould explain the conduct of the adminiſtration in regard to the expedition of ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*[b].

AFTER ſir *George Rooke* ſailed, the court received intelligence, that the *French* were very buſy in fitting out a great ſquadron at *Breſt*. This alarmed us very much, becauſe it was not eaſy to foreſee how this force would be employed. At all events it was thought proper to equip, with the utmoſt expedition, a good fleet, which was put under the command of ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, admiral of the *White*, who had under him ſir *Stafford Fairborne*, vice-admiral of the *Red*, and *George Byng*, eſq; then rear-admiral of the ſame ſquadron. The admiral was inſtructed, if he found the *Breſt* ſquadron ſtill in port, to ſend away the trade ſtore-ſhips and victuallers, under a proper convoy, to

[b] See Burchet, the compleat hiſtory of Europe, for 1704. Oldmixon, &c.

to *Lisbon*, and to remain before that port himself to endeavour to keep in the enemy; or, if that was found impracticable, to burn and destroy them if they came out. But in case he found the *Brest* squadron already sailed, then he was to call a council of war, in order to judge what strength might be necessary to be sent to sir *George Rooke*; and if it amounted to twenty two ships, then he was to sail with them himself, that our fleet might, at all events, be stronger than that of the enemy. Sir *Cloudesley* executed his instructions punctually, and finding that a great strength was necessary in the *Mediterranean* to oppose the *French*, he sailed thither about the latter end of the month of *May*[c].

We have now seen how and why the succours intended for sir *George Rooke*'s fleet, were so long delayed, and what care was taken for their coming, after all, in good time; we will next therefore return to that admiral, and give a short account of the manner in which he extricated himself out of the difficulties in which we left him. In the first place he signified to the prince of *Hesse*, who had the chief direction of his catholick majesty's affairs, that if the troops which were to make the attempt on *Barcelona*, could be speedily embarked, he was content to escort them, and to give all imaginable countenance to his majesty's affairs

[c] It was certainly well judged in sir Cloudesley Shovel, to sail as he did with his fleet into the Mediterranean; for the French, perceiving how much their reputation suffered by the declension of their power at sea, resolved this year to make the utmost effort possible to recover it, grounding their hopes chiefly on our fleets being divided, and the possibility there was of attacking sir George Rooke, before any reinforcement could join him; which, but for this prudent method of sir Cloudesly Shovel, might have been effected.

fairs in *Catalonia*. In compliance with this offer he failed accordingly with the tranſports under his convoy, and on the eighteenth of *May* he arrived before the city of *Barcelona*. A prieſt and ſome others ſurrendered themſelves, and informed the prince of *Heſſe*, that if ſome few forces were landed, and a ſhew made of a bombardment, they would declare for king *Charles* III. and receive him into the town. Upon this there landed, on the nineteenth of *May*, about twelve hundred marines, four hundred *Dutch* foot, a company of *Catalans*, and as many volunteers as made up in the whole two thouſand men. They remained aſhore all night; and the prince finding nothing done, notwithſtanding the *Dutch* had bombarded the place with ſome effect, his highneſs himſelf propoſed the re-embarking the men, from an apprehenſion of their being attacked by a ſuperior force. The truth is, that he had great reaſon to abandon this deſign as he did, ſince, in the firſt place, the governor had diſcovered it, and had ſecured the chiefs of the *Auſtrian* party; and in the next, the force he had with him was not at all proportioned to ſuch an undertaking [a].

In all this one would imagine the admiral muſt have been blameleſs, ſince he had done all that could be expect-

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[a] There was certainly a very ſtrong party in Barcelona for king Charles, and if they had had courage enough to have declared on the firſt arrival of the fleet, and had marched out, and joined the land forces as ſoon as they had debarked, ſomething might have been done; but they continued conſulting and intriguing, till the governour ſeized their chiefs, and then they themſelves adviſed the prince of Heſſe not to remain any longer before the place, on account of its being equally inconvenient for him and them.

ed from him, and did not retire till his highneſs himſelf thought it requiſite. Yet biſhop *Burnet* has given ſuch an account of it, as I muſt take the liberty of tranſcribing, that the public may ſee how neceſſary it is for an hiſtorian to be free from party. "Sir *George Rooke* came before "*Barcelona*, where the prince of *Heſſe Darmſtadt* aſſured "him, there were a ſtrong party ready to declare for king "*Charles*, as it was certain there was a great diſpoſition "in many to it. But *Rooke* would not ſtay above three "days before it; ſo that the motions within the town, "and the diſcoveries that many made of their inclinati-"ons, had almoſt proved fatal them. He anſwered, his "orders were poſitive; he muſt make towards *Nice*, "which it was believed the *French* intended to beſiege." At this rate of writing, no man's fame or memory can be ſafe. Yet, to heighten the malice of this reflection, and to miſlead the reader, if poſſible, ſtill more egregiouſly, the biſhop tells us a long ſtory, previous to this account of the admiral's avoiding the *French* fleet and joining ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, which is a notorious falſhood. The admiral landed his troops before *Barcelona* on the nineteenth of *May*; it was the twenty ſeventh before they had any intelligence of the *Breſt* ſquadron; and then, inſtead of ſhunning, they chaſed them; and on the ſixteenth of *June* the fleet was joined by ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, with the ſhips under his command; upon which it was immediately reſolved, to proceed up the *Mediterranean*, in ſearch of the *French* fleet. The whole of this affair was ſo perfectly well conducted, that our allies and our enemies join in commending ſir *George Rooke*; and yet his memory is in danger of ſuffering with poſterity, merely becauſe he was commonly eſteemed a tory. This it was that drew upon him

him ſo many and ſo ſevere reflections, obſcured all the great actions he did, and forced men, who valued themſelves on their skill in writing, not only to miſrepreſent, but to falſify facts, that they might be able to caſt ſuch imputations upon him, as he never deſerved e.

On the twenty firſt of *May* the admiral ſteered for the iſles of *Hieres* but in the paſſage met with a ſtorm, which ſeparated his fleet. On the twenty ſeventh they joined again, and had ſight of a large *French* ſquadron, which they rightly judged to be ſailing for *Toulon*; and therefore it was reſolved, in a council of war, to chaſe them thither, and if it was not poſſible to prevent their getting into that port, then to ſail for *Liſbon*, in order to wait for a reinforcement; which was accordingly done f. On the fourth of

e See Burchet, the compleat hiſtory of Europe for 1704, and all the foreign journals of that year. In the Dutch edition of biſhop Burnet's hiſtory, there is a large note to ſet right what the editor takes to be the effects of haſte or confuſion; and in that note, he ſtates the facts and dates fairly from our Gazettes, and other public authorities, as I do. Burnet's hiſtory, vol. p. 5. 770.

f This is a fact, in which Burchet, Oldmixon, the compleat hiſtory of Europe, and all our writers agree, as taking it from the journals depoſited with the ſecretary of the admiralty: and therefore we may eaſily know what to think of the following paſſage in Burnet's hiſtory, which follows immediately the account he had given of the admiral's leaving Barcelona, to ſail for the coaſt of Italy, in order to prevent the ſiege of Nice, or to relieve it if it was beſieged. "Having advice, ſays the biſhop, that the French "made no advances in that deſign, he turned his courſe Weſtward, and came in ſight of the French fleet, ſailing from "Breſt to Toulon, the advantage he had was ſo viſible, that it "was expected he would have made towards them; he did "it not: What orders he had was not known, for the matter "never came under examination; they got to Toulon, and "he

of June our fleet paſſed through the *Streights*-mouth, and were joined two days after by ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, with his ſquadron off *Lagos*. A council of war was then called, in order to conſider what ſervice ſhould be proceeded on. Several ſchemes were propoſed, particularly a ſecond attack on *Cadiz*, which was ſoon found to be impracticable, for want of a ſufficient number of land-forces. At this council of war the admiral alſo was pleaſed to declare, that he was limited by his inſtructions from attempting any thing without the conſents of the kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*; which was another diſcouragement to the ſervice, becauſe thoſe princes could very ſeldom agree on any thing; ſo that, except ſending ſome ſhips to the *Terceras*, in order to protect the homeward-bound *Brazil* fleet, there was nothing done, that I can find, which ought to be conſidered as the conſequence of this order. Sir *George Rooke* being very ſenſible of the reflections that would fall upon him, if, having ſo conſiderable a fleet under his command, he ſpent the ſummer in doing nothing of importance, called a council of war on the ſeventeenth of *July*, in the road of *Tetuan*, where having declared he thought it requiſite they ſhould reſolve upon ſomething, after a long debate it was carried to make a ſudden and vigorous attempt upon *Gibraltar*, for three reaſons: *Firſt*, becauſe in the condition the place then was, there was ſome probability of taking it; which, in caſe it had been properly provided, and there had been in it a numerous garriſon, would have been impoſſible. *Secondly*, becauſe the poſſeſſion of that place

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" he ſteered another way. The whole French fleet was then " together in that harbour; for though the Toulon ſquadron " had been out before, it was then in port."

place was of infinite importance during the preſent war. *Thirdly*, becauſe the taking of this place would give a luſtre to the queen's arms, and poſſibly diſpoſe the *Spaniards* to favour the cauſe of king *Charles*.

THE fleet in purſuance of this reſolution got into the bay of *Gibraltar* on the twenty firſt of *July*, and the marines, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, to the number of eighteen hundred were landed under the command of the prince of *Heſſe* on the *Iſthmus*, to cut off all communication between the town and the continent. His highneſs having taken poſt there, ſummoned the governor; who anſwered, that he would defend the place to the laſt. On the twenty ſecond the admiral at break of day, gave the ſignal for cannonading the town; which was performed with ſuch vigour, that fifteen thouſand ſhot was ſpent in five hours; when the admiral perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the ſouth mole-head, and that if we were once poſſeſſed of theſe, the town muſt be taken of courſe, he ordered captain *Whitaker* to arm all the boats, and to attempt to make himſelf maſter of them. This order was no ſooner iſſued, than captain *Hicks* and captain *Jumper*, who were neareſt the mole, puſhed on ſhore with their pinnaces, and actually ſeized the fortifications before the reſt could come up. The *Spaniards* ſeeing this ſprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and forty men were killed, and about ſixty more wounded: However they kept poſſeſſion of the great platform, till they were ſuſtained by captain *Whitaker*, and the ſeamen under his command, who very ſoon made himſelf maſter of a redoubt, between the mole and the town; on which the admiral ſent in a letter to the governor, who on the twenty-fourth capitulated, and the prince of *Heſſe* took poſſeſſion

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of the place. I muſt, upon this occaſion, obſerve, that as this deſign was contrived by the admirals, ſo it was executed entirely by the ſeamen, and therefore the whole honour of it is due to them. I muſt likewiſe put the reader in mind, that nothing could have enabled the ſeamen to take the place, but the cannonading of it in ſuch a manner, as obliged the *Spaniards* to quit their poſts; for the general officers, who viewed the fortifications after the place was in our hands, declared, that, they might have been defended by fifty men againſt as many thouſands. The *French* indeed ſay, in order to diminiſh, as much as poſſible, the glory of this action, that the *Spaniards* had neither garriſon nor guns there; but this is far from being true, ſince there were above one hundred braſs pieces mounted. After putting as many men, as could be ſpared, into the place, under the command of the prince of *Heſſe*, the fleet ſailed to *Tetuan*, in order to take in wood and water g. WHILE

g The marquis de Quincy tells us, that the court of London being informed of the weakneſs of the garriſon of Gibraltar, gave ſir George Rooke orders to attack it; which he did, and was ſo lucky as to make himſelf maſter of it, through the negligence of the Spaniards. Though this is the moſt accurate book publiſhed in relation to the laſt war, yet, in this point, the author is certainly miſtaken. We have ſir George Rooke's inſtructions in Burchet, his journals and orders are yet in being, and have been conſulted in this work; but nothing of this ſort has been diſcovered: and indeed, if any miniſter had been wiſe enough to contrive this ſcheme, he would undoubtedly have done himſelf juſtice, by claiming the merit of it. The French hiſtorian proceeds to ſay, that though Gibraltar was taken for king Charles III. yet it was never put into his poſſeſſion, but has been ever ſince kept by the Engliſh, who, to ſay the truth, ſays he, have dearly purchaſed it, ſince it has coſt them more pounds ſterling, than there are ſtones in the fortifications. Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iv. p. 421.

WHILE they lay here, the *Dutch* admiral ſent a flag-officer and ſix ſhips to *Lisbon*, with orders to return home, and a promiſe that he would quickly follow them. On the ninth of *Auguſt* the fleet ſailed again from *Gibraltar*, and had ſight of the *French* fleet, which they reſolved to engage. The latter declined this, and endeavoured to get away; but ſir *George* purſued them with all the ſail he could make [h]. On the thirteenth of the ſame month, which was *Sunday*, he came within three leagues of them, when they brought to with their heads to the ſouthward, the wind being eaſterly, and, forming a line, lay in a poſture to receive him. They were fifty-two ſhips and twenty-four galleys, very ſtrong in the centre, but weaker in the van and rear; to ſupply which, moſt of their galleys were placed in thoſe ſquadrons. In the centre was the count of *Tholouſe*, high admiral of *France*, with the *White* ſquadron; in the van the *White* and *Blue* flag, and in the rear the *Blue*, each admiral having his vice and rear-admiral. Our fleet conſiſted of fifty-three ſhips; but the admiral ordered the *Swallow* and *Panther*, two fourth rates, with a fifth and a ſixth, and two fire-ſhips, to lie to windward of him, that if the enemy's van ſhould puſh through our line with their gallies and fireſhips, they might give them ſome diverſion [i].

[h] This plainly proves, that no man was more inclined to fight, than ſir George Rooke, when fighting was a prudent meaſure, and in the night of the eleventh, he had the good luck to force one of the enemy's ſhips aſhore, to which they were forced to ſet fire, in order to prevent its falling into our hands.

[i] See ſir George Rooke's account of this battle, publiſhed by authority. This diſpoſition plainly proved the admiral's great capacity, and how dextrouſly he could ſupply, by good management, any accidental deficiencies he might labour under.

A little after ten in the morning, our fleet bore down in order of battle, and when they came within half gun-ſhot of the enemy, the *French* ſet all their ſails at once, as if they intended to ſtretch a-head and weather us; ſo that our admiral, after firing a chaſe-gun at the *French* admiral to ſtay for him, of which he took no notice, threw abroad the ſignal and began the battle, which fell very heavy on the *Royal Catharine*, the *St. George*, and the *Shrewsbury*. About two in the afternoon the enemy's van gave way to ours, and the battle ended with the day, when the enemy went away, by the help of their gallies, to the leeward. In the night the wind ſhifted to the northward, and in the morning to the weſtward, which gave the enemy the wind of us. We lay by all day within three leagues of each other, repairing our defects, and at night they ſiled and ſtood to the northwards. Our fleet endeavoured the two next days to renew the fight, but the *French* avoided it, and at laſt bore away. This plainly diſcovers that we had the victory, notwithſtanding the great advantages of the *French*; which I think thoſe who underſtand maritime affairs, will allow to be as great as ever any fleet had. For firſt, their ſhips were bigger; they had ſeventeen three-deck ſhips, and we had but ſeven. Secondly, they had a great advantage in their weight of metal; for they had ſix hundred guns more than we. Thirdly, they were clean ſhips, juſt come out of port; whereas ours had been long at ſea, and had done hard ſervice. Fourthly, they had the aſſiſtance of their gallies; and how great an advantage this was, will appear from hence, that about the middle of the fight, the *French* admiral ordered a ſeventy-gun ſhip to board the *Monk*, a ſixty-gun ſhip of ours, commanded by captain *Mighells*;

Mighells; which ſhe did, and was beat off three times, and after every repulſe ſhe had her wounded men taken off, and her complement reſtored by the gallies. Fifthly, the *French* fleet was thoroughly provided with ammunition; which was ſo much wanted in ours, that ſeveral ſhips were towed out of the line, becauſe they had not either powder or ball ſufficient for a ſingle broadſide. But the skill of the admiral, and the bravery of the officers and ſeamen under his command, ſupplied all defects, and enabled them to give the *French* ſo clear a proof of their ſuperiority over them in all reſpects at ſea, that they not only declined renewing the fight at preſent, but avoided us ever after, and durſt not venture a battle on that element during the remainder of the war. It may be therefore juſtly ſaid, that the battle of *Malaga* decided the empire of the ſea, and left to us and the *Dutch* an indiſputed claim to the title of MARITIME POWERS[k].

k I cannot conceive why biſhop Burnet, and other writers, ſhould ſay ſo much to the prejudice of their country, purely to leſſen the reputation of the admiral, becauſe he was thought to be a tory; but I can leaſt of all account for the falſhoods that Burnet has thruſt into his relation. He ſays, that moſt of the ſhips had twenty-five rounds of powder, when they began to fight, and that it had ſeldom happened that ſo much had been ſpent in an engagement at ſea. The Dutch admiral Callemberg, in his letter to the ſtates, ſays, that ten rounds would not ſerve above an hour, and that many of the Engliſh ſhips had no more when the engagement was over; ſo that if the biſhop, intended to inſinuate, that the want of powder was only an excuſe, he is effectually refuted by this authority; and we ſee at the ſame time, how able he was to make calculations. He commends Shovel's bravery juſtly, but then adds, that Rooke fought at a greater diſtance. Now I think I have ſome authority to prove, that he is in the wrong in both; by which I mean,

IT is true, that the *French*, according to their old cuſtom, claimed the victory here. *Lewis* XIV. wrote a letter affirming this to the archbiſhop of *Paris*, directing *Te Deum* to be ſung on that occaſion, and afterwards publiſhed an account, which I ſhall give the reader as near as may be from the gazette, and I ſhall then demonſtrate, that the whole was no more than an artifice of ſtate [1], in order

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I mean, that though ſir Cloudeſley Shovel was a very brave man, yet here he had no great opportunity of ſhewing it, whereas ſir George Rooke had and did. For, obſerve, reader, what ſir Cloudeſley ſays in his letter, printed in the compleat hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1704. His words are theſe, "the ſhips that ſuffered moſt in my diviſion, were the Lenox, "Warſpight, Tilbury, and Swiftſure: the reſt eſcaped pretty "well, and I the beſt of all, though I never took greater pains "in all my life to have been ſoundly beaten, for I ſet all my "ſails, and rowed with three boats a-head, to get along ſide "with the admiral of the white and blue. But he, out ſailing "me, ſhunned fighting, and lay along-ſide of the little ſhips. "Notwithſtanding, the engagement was very ſharp, and "I think the like between two fleets never has been in any "time. There is hardly a ſhip that muſt not ſhift one maſt, "and ſome muſt ſhift all; a great many have ſuffered much, "*but none more than ſir George Rooke*, and captain Jennings, in "the St. George."

[1] I think it neceſſary to give the reader a tranſcript of this letter, from the French king to cardinal Noailles, becauſe two great politicians have differed much about it. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that, from the coldneſs of this letter, it was concluded in England, that the French were beat; ſo that in his judgment, this letter was the beſt evidence of our victory. Mr Oldmixon thinks juſt the contrary; the reader, by peruſing the letter, will be able to judge for himſelf.

"COUSIN.

"The fleet which I have aſſembled in the Mediterranean, "under the command of my ſon the count de Thouloufe, ad- "miral of France, has not only diſappointed the deſigns "which the joint fleets of England and Holland had upon the "coaſts of Catalonia, but has alſo put a glorious end to the "cam-

order to leſſen the ill conſequences that were apprehended from the defeat, and therefore it is no leſs injurious to the glory of this nation, than to the honour of ſir *George Rooke*'s memory, to make uſe of the diſtorted tales in this relation, to prejudice the indubitable facts contained in ours. The ſubſtance of this *Freneh* account was.

"THAT, before the fight, the admiral ordered all "the ſhips to make ready; but the ſea being calm, he "gave directions for the galleys to prepare to tow the "men of war off to ſea. But at day-break the whole "fleet weighed, by favour of a breeze that blew gently "from the land, and made towards the enemy, whom "the currents had carried out to ſea. The 24th their "fleet, in a line of battle, came up with the enemy; "the marquis *de Villette*, lieutenant-general, commanded "the van-guard, having behind him in a ſecond line the "duke of *Turſis*, with his own ſquadron of ſeven galleys, "and five of *Spain*. The count *de Tholouſe* commanded "the centre, having behind him the marquis *de Royes* with

 "four

"campaign, by a general engagement, which iſſued wholly "to my advantage, though the enemies were conſiderably "more in number, and had a favourable wind. Their firſt, "efforts were ſuſtained, and repulſed with ſo much valour "by all the officers and equipage of my ſhips, animated by "the example of their general, that the enemies could think "of nothing during the fight, which laſted ten hours, but "how to defend themſelves, how to avoid being boarded "ſeveral times by my ſhips, and to ſecure themſelves by a "retreat; and though the count de Thouloufe did all he "could the two following days to come up with them, he "could not bring them to a ſecond engagement. This happy "ſucceſs obliges me to return thanks to God by public "prayers."

" four galleys; and the marquis *de Langeron* had the com-
" mand of the rear-guard, with eight *French* galleys under
" command of the count *de Tourville*. The enemy's van-
" guard was commanded by ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*; the center
" by ſir *George Rooke*; and the rear guard were the *Dutch*
" ſhips, commanded by vice admiral *Calemberg*. They
" had ſixty ſhips of the line, many frigates almoſt as large,
" and bomb-veſſels that did them good ſervice. Sir *Clou-*
" *deſley Shovel* advanced before the wind, ſeparating himſelf
" from the center; but obſerving that the marquis *de*
" *Villette* endeavoured to ſurround him, he kept to the
" wind, and ſir *George Rooke* ſeeing the danger he was in,
" bore upon the king's fleet. The fight began about ten
" a clock, north and ſouth off *Malaga*, ten or eleven
" leagues from ſhore, and laſted till night. The fire was
" extraordinary on both ſides, and notwithſtanding the
" enemy had the advantage of the wind, which blew the
" ſmoak upon the *French* fleet, they always kept as near
" the wind as they could, while the count *de Thouloufe* made
" all poſſible efforts to approach them. The marquis *de*
" *Villette* had ſo roughly uſed the van of the enemy, having
" obliged five of their ſhips to quit their line, that he
" would have entirely put the ſame into diſorder, had not
" a bomb fallen upon his ſtern, and ſet it on fire; which
" obliged him to quit the line, and extinguiſh the fire.
" Another bomb fell on the ſhip of the *Sieurs de Belliſle*
" who quitted the line to refit, as did likewiſe the *Sieur de*
" *Grancy*, *Oſmont*, *Rouvroy*, *Pontac*, and *Roche Allard*. The
" latter fought the ſhip of ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel* of 90 guns,
" though he had but ſixty. The *Sieur Chammeſſin* boarded
" three times a ſhip of the enemy, but quitted the ſame,

" ſeeing

" ſeeing ſhe was on fire in ſeveral places, but becauſe of " the ſmoak could not ſee whether ſhe ſunk. The bailiff of " *Lorrain* was killed with a cannon ſhot, and the *Sieur* " *de Relingue* had a leg ſhot off. They were the count *de* " *Thouloufe*'s two ſeconds, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves " very much, following the example of their general. " The enemy continuing to ſheer off; the fight with the " van ended about five, with the centre about ſeven, " and with the rear towards night. The *French* fleet " purſued with all their lights out; whereas the enemy, " their flag-ſhips excepted, had none. The 25th the " wind blowing again from the weſt, the enemy ſailed " towards the coaſt of *Barbary*, ſo that they loſt ſight " of them at night. The 26th in the morning they " were ſeen again about four leagues diſtance, the wind " having again ſhifted to the eaſt, which gave them a fair " opportunity to renew the fight, but they did not think " fit to approach. They were not heard of afterwards; " whereupon it was judged they had repaſſed the *Streights*, " and this obliged the count *de Thouloufe* to return the " 27th to *Malaga*, with the gallies. We had about 1500 " men killed or wounded. But we do not know the loſs " of the enemy, which muſt be very great; and ſeveral " perſons ſaid, that two of their ſhips ſunk [m]."

I ſhall mention but one objection to this account, becauſe I think I need not mention any more, and it is this, that whenever the *French* endeavour to account for their not

[m] See the compleate hiſtory of Europe, for 1704, p. 487. Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iv. p. 426. Lamberti, tom. iii. p. 324.

puſhing the affair farther, they inſiſt on the miſchief done them by the *Engliſh* bombs; whereas nothing can be more certain, than that there was not a ſingle bomb-veſſel in the *Engliſh* fleet. As to the force on both ſides, and the loſs of each, I ſhall give a particular account at the bottom of the page[n]; and having done this, I believe I need add nothing to

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n The Engliſh fleet, at the time of this battle, conſiſted of five diviſions, beſides the Dutch, of which there were but eleven ſhips. The ſtrength of the fleet will particularly appear from the following liſt, tranſmitted from the admiral to the queen.

Ships Names.	Men.	Guns.	Men ſlain.	Wounded.
Royal Catherine	730	90	27	94
St. George	680	96	45	93
Namure	680	96	18	44
Shrewsbury	500	80	31	73
Naſſau	440	70	15	26
Grafton	440	70	31	66
Monmouth	440	70	27	62
Montague	565	60	15	34
Panther	280	50	10	16
	4755	682	219	508
Barfleur	710	96	6	24
Eagle	440	70	7	57
Orford	440	70	6	9
Aſſurance	440	66	6	14
Warſpight	440	70	17	44
Swiftſure	440	70	13	33
Nottingham	365	60	7	19
Tilbury	280	40	20	25
Lenox	440	70	23	78
	3995	612	105	303

Prince

to ſhew the folly of the *French* academy's cauſing a medal to be ſtruck upon this occaſion, as if, inſtead of being defeated

Ships Names,	Men.	Guns.	Men ſlain.	Wounded.
Prince George	700	90	15	57
Boyne	500	80	14	52
Newarke	500	80	15	32
Norfolk	500	80	15	20
Yarmouth	440	70	7	26
Berwick	440	70	23	24
	3080	470	89	211
Ranelagh	535	83	24	45
Somerſet	500	80	31	62
Firme	440	70	25	48
Triton	230	50	5	21
Dorſetſhire	500	82	12	20
Torbay	500	80	21	50
Eſſex	440	70	13	36
Kingſton	365	60	14	46
Centurion	280	56	10	33
	3790	631	155	361
Kent	400	70	15	26
Royal Oak	500	76	20	33
Swallow	280	50	1	3
Cambridge	500	80	11	27
Bedford	440	70	12	51
Monk	365	60	36	52
Suffolk	440	70	13	38
Burford	440	70	11	19
	3765	540	119	249
Admirals Diviſion	4755	682	219	508
Sir Cloudſley Shovel's	3995	412	105	303
Sir John Leak's	3080	470	89	211
Rear-Admiral Byng's	3790	631	115	361
Rear-Admiral Dilke's	5765	540	119	249
	19,385	2935	687	1632

Slain

feated, the *French* had gained a victory worthy the notice of posterity o.

AFTER the *English* had in vain endeavoured to renew the fight, they repaired to *Gibraltar*, where they continued eight

	Slain.	687
	Wounded.	1632
Total killed and wounded, English,		2319
Dutch.		400
	Total.	2719

Commission officers slain; captains, sir Andrew Leake, and cap. Cow: lieutenants four, and warrant-officers two. Commission officers wounded; captains, Mynge, Baker, Jumper, Mighells, Kirkson; lieutenants thirteen; warrant officers, thirteen.

As to the French fleet, it consisted of three squadrons; the first of 16 ships of the line, carrying in all, 1120 guns, and 7700 men; the white squadron in the center, consisting of 17 ships, carrying 1271 guns, 8500 men; the blue division in the rear, consisting of 17 ships, which carried 1152 guns, 7625 men. In all, 3533 guns, 24,155 men. Besides this, they had 9 frigates, as many fire ships, 12 French and 11 Spanish gallies, with two flutes; in all, 92 sail. On their side was slain, a rear admiral, 5 captains, 6 lieutenants, and 5 sea ensigns. The count de Thoulouse himself wounded in the forehead, shoulder, and thigh; the count de Religues had his leg shot off. The marquis de Herbault, intendant of the fleet; Monsr. du Casse, commodore of a squadron; M. de Chateau Regnault; the count de Phelipeaux; the count de Cominges; M. de Valincourt; the count de Thoulouse's secretary; seven captains, eight lieutenants, and about one hundred and fifty other officers were wounded; as to the loss of private men, it amounted in the whole, to 3048.

o In this extraordinary medal, Spain is represented sitting, and her arm leaning on a pillar, with victory over her head; the legend thus: ORÆ HISPANICÆ SECURITAS, i. e. The security of the Spanish coasts. To shew how this was attained, we read in the exergue, ANGLORUM ET BATAVORUM CLASSE FUGATA AD MALACAM, XXIV. AUGUSTI, M,DCCIV. i. e. The English and Dutch fleet beat at Malaga, 24th of August, 1704.

eight days in order to refit; and having ſupplied that place to the utmoſt of their power with ammunition and proviſion, it was thought convenient to return to *England*, care being firſt taken to provide ſuch a ſquadron for the *Mediterranean* ſervice as might ſecure our trade, and render any deſigns of the enemy abortive. On the twenty fourth of *Auguſt* the admiral ſailed from *Gibraltar*; on the twenty ſixth he gave orders to ſir *John Leake* to take upon him the command of the ſquadron that was to remain in the *Mediterranean* during the winter, and then ſailed home with the reſt, where he arrived ſafely on the twenty fourth of *September*, and was received with all exterior marks of eſteem by the miniſtry, at the ſame time that the populace ſhewed for him an unfeigned affection [p].

BUT though ſir *George Rooke* had been happy enough to beat the *French* under great diſadvantages, yet he was not able to baffle that ſpirit of envy which had perſecuted him ſo long. There was a party that not only queſtioned his conduct and the late victory, but were willing to ſacrifice the glory of their country, and, as far as in them lay, to propagate the idle ſtories invented by the *French*, as undoubted truths, purely to gratify their own ſpleen; and this too in direct contradiction to the voice of the nation, as appeared by the many addreſſes preſented to the queen,

[p] Sir John Leake had under his command, two ſhips of the 3d, nine of the 4th, four of the 5th, one of the 6th rate, and a fire-ſhip. His orders were to repair to Liſbon, from whence he was to ſend home the trade under a convoy of four men of war. He was likewiſe to take under his command ſuch ſhips of the ſtates-general, as remained in thoſe ſeas; and it was particularly recommended to him to take care of Gibraltar. Sir George Rooke carried home five 2d, twenty-five 3d, and four 4th rates, with ſix fire-ſhips, two hoſpital-ſhips, and a yacht.

queen, in which the courage, conduct, and fortune of ſir *George Rooke*, are highly extolled. To put this matter, however, out of doubt, and to ſhew the true ſenſe of the queen, and the miniſtry on this ſubject, it was thought proper that his royal highneſs prince *George* ſhould introduce ſuch officers of the fleet, as had deſerved beſt, to her majeſty: and accordingly on the ninth of *October* he preſented, firſt, ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, who had the honour to kiſs her majeſty's hand: then captain *John Jennings*, commander of the *St. George*, upon whom her majeſty's was pleaſed to conſer the honour of knighthood, and at the ſame time *George Byng*, eſq; and *Thomas Dilkes*, eſq; the former rear-admiral of the *Red*, and the latter of the *White* ſquadron, were likewiſe knighted [9].

When the parliament came to ſit, which was on the twenty third of *October*, new diſputes aroſe, and great pains were taken to prevent ſir *George Rooke*'s conduct from meeting with public approbation: This, however, was without ſucceſs; for the houſe of commons, in their addreſs, made uſe of theſe words: "We beg leave to con-"gratulate your majeſty upon the great and glorious ſuc-"ceſſes with which it hath pleaſed God to bleſs your ma-"jeſty in the entire defeat of the united force of *France* "and *Bavaria*, by the arms of your majeſty and your "allies, under the command, and by the courage and con-"duct of the duke of *Marlborough*, and in the victory "obtained by your majeſty's fleet, under the command, "and by the courage and conduct of ſir *George Rooke*." As it was known that theſe expreſſions gave offence to ma-

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9 Compleat hiſtory of Europe, Oldmixon, London Gazette, No. 4061. which Gazette is filled with addreſſes on the ſucceſſes of the duke of Marlborough, and ſir George Rooke.

ny of the warmeſt friends of the miniſtry, who thought there was no compariſon between the victories gained at *Blenheim* and *Malaga*, the houſe thought fit to expreſs its ſentiments more clearly; and having, on the ſecond of *November*, taken into their ſerious conſideration, the ſervices both of the fleet and the army, they unanimouſly voted, "That her majeſty be deſired to beſtow her bounty "upon the ſeamen and land-forces, who had behaved "themſelves ſo gallantly in the late actions both by ſea "and land." To which her majeſty very graciouſly anſwered, *That ſhe would give her directions accordingly.* One would have imagined, that acts of ſo ſolemn a nature muſt have ſilenced ſuch as pretended to doubt the ſervices performed by the admiral and the fleet; and yet it hath ſince appeared, that ſome of our hiſtorians, and many of our memoir-writers have attempted to perſuade us that, notwithſtanding theſe deciſions of the queen and parliament, the fleet did little or nothing, and that the fight at *Malaga* was a drawn battle; in which, however, they differ from the *Dutch*, who confeſs that it was the beſt-fought action recorded in hiſtory; and that the skill of ſir *George Rooke* convinced the *French*, that it was in vain to conteſt with the maritime powers the empire of the ſea [r].

BEFORE we conclude the naval tranſactions of this year, it is neceſſary that we ſhould again paſs into the *Mediterranean*, in order to take a view of the ſervices performed there by ſir *John Leake*. The *Spaniards*, who were the beſt judges, found our poſſeſſion of *Gibraltar* ſo great a thorn in their ſides, that as they very lately prevailed

[r] Compleat hiſtory of Europe, Oldmixon, debates in parliament, &c.

vailed on the *French* to hazard an engagement at ſea, to facilitate their retaking of it, ſo they afterwards demanded, and obtained a ſquadron of *French* ſhips, under the command of monſ. *de Pointis*, to aſſiſt them in carrying on the ſiege. The prince of *Heſſe* having ſent early advice of this to *Lisbon*, ſir *John Leake*, in the beginning of the month of *October*, proceeded with his ſquadron to the relief of the place, and actually landed ſeveral gunners, carpenters, and engineers, with a body of four hundred marines; but receiving intelligence, that the *French* were approaching with a force much ſuperior to his, he found it neceſſary to return again to *Lisbon*. He did this with a view only to refit, and to be in a better condition to ſupply and aſſiſt the garriſon in a ſecond expedition, for which he had very prudently directed preparations to be made in his abſence. This enabled him to put to ſea again on the twenty fifth of *October*, and on the twenty ninth he entered the bay of *Gibraltar* at a very critical juncture; for that very night the enemy intended to ſtorm the town on all ſides, and had procured two hundred boats from *Cadiz*, in order to have landed three thouſand men near the new mould. But ſir *John Leake* entered ſo ſuddenly, that he ſurprized in the bay two frigates, one of 42, and the other of 24 guns, a brigantine of 14, a fire-ſhip of 16, a ſtore-ſhip full of bombs and granado's, two *Engliſh* prizes; and a Tartane and another frigate of thirty guns, which had juſt got out of the bay, was taken by an *Engliſh* ſhip that followed her [f].

THE

[f] Burchet, Oldmixon, compleat hiſtory of Europe. Not only our own writers, but even the marquis de Quincy acknowleges the

THE enemy, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, continued the ſiege, in expectation of a ſtrong naval ſuccour from *France*, and therefore ſir *John Leake* reſolved to land as many men as he could ſpare, to reinforce the garriſon; which he performed on the ſecond, third, and fourth of *November*, and continued ſtill on the coaſt in order to alarm and diſtreſs the enemy. On the nineteenth and twentieth he ordered his ſmalleſt frigates to go as near the ſhore as poſſible, and then manned all his boats, as if he intended a deſcent; but this was done ſo ſlowly, and the troops feigned ſuch a reluctancy to land, as gave the *Spaniſh* general time to draw down a great body of cavalry, which enabled the admiral to put his deſign in execution, and to ſalute them in ſuch a manner with his great and ſmall arms, as made them ſcamper back to their camp with great precipitation. The *Centurion* arrived on the twenty ſecond of *November*, and brought in with her a *French* prize from *Martinico*, very richly laden; and at the ſame time gave the admiral intelligence, that he had ſailed as far as was convenient into the bay of *Cadiz*, and had diſcovered a very ſtrong ſquadron there, which he apprehended would ſoon be in a condition to ſail. Upon this and ſome other intimations, ſir *John Leake* reſolved to put to ſea, and to ſtand with his fleet to the eaſtward of *Gibraltar*, that he might be the better able to take ſuch meaſures

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the truth of this fact; he likewiſe tells us of an attempt made by 500 men, who crawled up the mountain, and appeared on the back of the town; which they had certainly taken, if they had been properly ſupported; but he ſays nothing of the Engliſh forcing them over the precipice, and leaving their mangled carcaſſes a melancholy mark of their own raſhneſs, and their country-mens cowardice.

meaſures as ſhould be found neceſſary, as well for the preſervation of the place, as for ſecuring the ſuccours that were expected from *Lisbon* t.

On the ſeventh of *December* arrived the *Antelope*, with nine tranſports under her convoy; and two days afterwards the *Newcaſtle*, with ſeven more, having on board near two thouſand land troops. They eſcaped the *French* fleet very luckily; for when they were off cape *Spartell*, they had ſight of monſ. *Pointis*'s ſquadron, conſiſting of twenty-four ſail of men of war, under *Engliſh* and *Dutch* colours. As they expected to meet the confederate fleet under ſir *John Leake* and rear-admiral *Vanderduſſen* thereabouts, they did their utmoſt to join them; but by good fortune were becalmed. They put their boats to ſea on both ſides to tow the ſhips, but the *Engliſh* obſerving that the men of war ſtretched themſelves, and endeavoured to make a half-moon to ſurround them, they made a private ſignal, which ſir *John Leake* would have underſtood. This ſpoiled the meaſures of the *French*, who were thereby diſcovered, and put up their colours, and endeavoured to fall upon the tranſports; but they got off by means of their oars, and the night coming on, they got away by favour of a ſmall breeze from the ſouth-Weſt. By the arrival of theſe ſuccours, the garriſon was increaſed to upwards of three thouſand men; and having already obtained many advantages over the enemy, it was no longer thought requiſite to keep the fleet, which by long ſervice was now but in an indifferent condition, either in the bay, or on the coaſt; eſpecially when it was conſidered, that monſ. *Pointis* was ſo near with a force equal, if not ſuperior to that

t Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Hiſtoire militaire, tom. iv. p. 450.

that of ſir *John Leake*. The prince of *Heſſe* having acknowledged this to the admiral, he called a council of war on the twenty firſt of *December*, and having laid before them the true ſtate of the caſe, it was unanimouſly reſolved to ſail with all convenient ſpeed to *Lisbon* in order to refit, and to provide further ſupplies for the garriſon, in caſe, as the *Spaniards* gave out, they ſhould receive ſuch reinforcements from king *Lewis* and king *Philip*, as would enable them to renew the ſiege both by land and ſea. This reſolution was as ſpeedily executed as wiſely taken, and the fleet arrived at *Lisbon* in the latter end of 1704, where we ſhall leave them in order to return to what was doing at home, and the preparations made for carrying on the war by ſea with greater vigour in the next year, than they had been at any time ſince the beginning of the war [u].

It was a common complaint at this juncture, that we did not proſecute the war at ſea with ſo much vigour as might be expected from a nation ſo powerful on that element: that the enemy's taking our ſhips was a reproach on the nation, which ought to fall under the notice of parliament. In anſwer to this, I mean in the houſe of commons, it was ſaid, that though the facts could not be denied, yet on the other hand it muſt be allowed, that the board of *Admiralty* could not do more than the ſupplies granted by parliament would enable them; and that therefore, if more was expected from, more ought to be done for them. This was chiefly ſaid by the admirals and their friends, who were very numerous. The Houſe having conſidered the whole affair with great attention, came at length, on the ſeventh of *November*, 1704, to the following

[u] Burchet's naval hiſtory. Compleat hiſtory of Europe. The life of queen Anne, &c.

reſolutions, *viz.* That forty thouſand ſeamen ſhould be allowed for the year 1705, including eight thouſand marines. On the ninth they reſolved that one hundred thouſand pounds, ſhould be allowed for the ordinary of the navy for the ſame year; and that forty thouſand pounds ſhould be given to the office of ordnance for the ſea ſervice, over and above the uſual proviſion; and that ten thouſand pounds ſhould be given for making a wharf and ſtorehouſe at *Portſmouth*. Theſe were great and glorious proviſions, ſuch as ſhewed that the people were deſirous not to ſpare their treaſure, where the credit of the crown and their own intereſt were at at ſtake [w].

YET in the latter end of this, and in the beginning of the ſucceeding year, certain enquiries were made in the houſe of lords, which did as great honour to that aſſembly, as they gave pain to ſome in the adminiſtration. A great clamour had been raiſed againſt the prince's council, for not paying ſufficient attention to the merchants, and for having very little regard to the reſentment ſhewn by that houſe againſt certain perſons, and certain proceedings. Lord *Haverſham*'s, and ſome other lords warm ſpeeches, raiſed a great heat; but before any addreſs was made to the queen, two committees of enquiry were appointed; one to inſpect the books at the *Admiralty-office*, in order to

[w] It muſt be obſerved, that the ſupplies were carried in the houſe of commons before the leaſt notice was given by the miniſtry, that ſir George Rooke had loſt their favour. In this, there was a great deal of policy, becauſe the majority of that houſe of commons were Tories; and if they had been at all aware of ſir George Rooke's being forced to reſign, or, as mr. Oldmixon phraſes it, being laid aſide, they might have been leſs inclined to receive from the miniſtry implicity the terms of the ſupply.

to ſee exactly what conduct the board had purſued, and the other to conſider what was done at ſea. This was certainly a very clear and methodical way of acting, and contributed to the laying open all the wrong ſteps, that had been winked at either on account of private friendſhips, or the prejudices of party. In the firſt place the houſe obſerved, that twenty two ſhips had been employed to cruize the whole ſummer, and they ſhewed, from their accounts returned to the *Admiralty-Office*, that they had performed their duty ſo negligently, as not to have done more than from three ſhips, commanded by active captains, might juſtly have been expected. They likewiſe complained, that there were ten flags in pay, three of which were not at ſea: that mr. *Churchill* had not been at ſea in any one year of this war: that mr. *Graydon* had been aſhore all the laſt year, and that he had been employed, notwithſtanding a former addreſs for his diſcharge: That ſir *James Wiſhart*, though a rear-admiral, had the laſt year been ſir *George Rooke*'s captain: That ſir *John Munden*, though he had not done his duty, had a penſion of three hundred and nineteen pounds a year, *&c.* Though the queen could not be very well pleaſed with an addreſs which reflected on the ſupineneſs of her royal conſort, yet ſhe concealed her diſlike, and anſwered, *Feb.* 5, "Your "addreſs contains many obſervations, which I will con"ſider particularly, and give ſuch directions upon them, "as may be moſt for the advantage of the public ſer"vice [x]."

[x] This addreſs of the lords, was preſented to the queen, on the 5th of February, 1704-5. It is, without queſtion, one of the moſt valuable ſtate-papers extant, as it is a noble inſtance of

THUS, between the two houſes, the buſineſs of the nation, with reſpect to naval affairs, was very fully done. The lords took care to correct, or at leaſt to point out, what was amiſs in paſt tranſactions; and the commons made ample proviſion for the thorough ſupply of whatever was neceſſary in times to come. Yet in doing all this, ſome ſharp expreſſions eſcaped, eſpecially in the houſe of peers, which certainly flowed rather from a zeal to party, than any love to juſtice; which gave ſuch diſguſt to ſir *George Rooke*, that after all the honours had been paid him, he declined any further command, as deſiring that the queen might be eaſy, and the nation well ſerved, rather than that any opportunities might be given him of adding either to his reputation or eſtate. This is the true ſtate of the caſe, as far as I have been able to learn; nor can I believe, what ſome warm people have ventured to aſſert, that the lord treaſurer, *Godolphin*, procured ſir *George* to be laid aſide, in order to gratify the duke of *Marlborough*; a ſug-

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of the true ſpirit of an Engliſh parliament. It ſhews, how enquiries may, and ought to be conducted, and how agreeable it is to the nature of our conſtitution to lay before the crown, and exhibit to the people true repreſentations of the ſtate of public affairs, that men may ſee how the money goes, which is ſaid to be raiſed for their ſervice, and not look upon the public, as a bad ſteward, that receives and pays without account. This, I will be bold to ſay, was the reaſon that this war was carried on ſo much cheaper than our naval armaments have been ever ſince: for, when enquiries are frequent, frauds ſeldom happen; but when theſe are either diſcouraged, made only for form, or ſo turned as to ſerve the little purpoſes of parties, who under colour of diſcovering the faults of a miniſtry, mean no more than to become miniſters themſelves; things muſt go from bad to worſe, and a ſpirit of plundering inſinuate itſelf through all public offices.

a ſuggeſtion better becoming the narrow ſpirit of a party writer, than the wiſdom of that great lord, or the known calmneſs and equanimity of the noble duke y. In conſe-

y Mr. Hornby, the reputed author of the famous caveat againſt the Whigs, which is now become extreamly ſcarce, gives us the following reflections on the diſgrace of this great admiral. "In 1704, ſays he, ſir George Rooke, with a crew "of cabbin-boys, took the almoſt impregnable fortreſs of Gi-"braltar, ſo that at the ſame time, Britiſh trophies were "erected eaſtward as far as the banks of the Danube, and her "flags were ſeen waving on the towers of the moſt weſtern "part of Europe, where Hercules fixed his *ne plus ultra*. Af-"ter this, under great diſadvantages, both in the number, "rates and condition of his ſhips, and above all, in the want "of ammunition, he ſo far convinced the French how unequal "a match they were for us on the watry element, that they "never after ventured to equip another royal navy; yet, how "were his ſervices undervalu'd by the faction here! Gibral-"tar, which was able to defy the power of Spain, and to baffle "and waſte their army in a fruitleſs ſiege, and which is like to "continue to future ages, an honour to our arms, and a ſafe-"guard to our commerce, was a place of no ſtrength or value, "and the engagement at ſea was celebrated with lampoons, "inſtead of congratulations. Neither his actions in this war, "nor in the laſt, his conduct in ſaving our Turkey fleet, or "his courage in deſtroying the French ſhips at la Hogue, "could prevail with them to allow him any ſhare of ſkill or "bravery; ſo that he is to wait for juſtice from impartial poſ-"terity, not only in theſe qualities, but one much more rare "in this age, which he ſhewed in refuſing to aſk a privy ſeal "for a ſum of money remaining in his hands of what had "been remitted to him; as he had not waſted it in monſtrous "bowls of punch, ſo he ſcorned to enrich himſelf by convert-"ing the public treaſure to his own uſe, but juſtly accounted "for it. Theſe monuments, in ſpite of envy and detraction, "will remain to his honour in the records of time, and his "memory will live without the aſſiſtance, or expence of a "lumpiſh pile of ſtones, clamped up againſt the walls of Weſt-"minſter-Abby, as was beſtowed to commemorate the loſs of "ſome of her majeſty's ſhips, and the more valuable lives of "many of her ſubjects, for want of common care and diſcre-"tion."

quence of this meaſure, however brought about, a ſort of thorough change was made in the *Admiralty*. Sir *Cloudeſley Shovel* was appointed rear-admiral of *England*, and admiral and commander in chief of the fleet; ſir *John Leake* was appointed vice-admiral of the *White* ſquadron, as ſir *George Byng* was of the *Blue*; ſir *Thomas Dilkes*, rear-admiral of the *Red*; *William Whetſtone*, eſq; rear-admiral of the *White*, and ſir *John Jennings*, rear-admiral of the *Blue*. I have thrown theſe debates and promotions into the moſt regular order I could, for the reader's eaſe and my own, that I might the ſooner return to action, and to the exploits of our ſea force, under theſe new commanders; and though I have not obſerved the ſtrict rules of chronology, yet, as the promotions were the effect of the enquiries, I hope the reader will be ſatisfied with my manner of ſtating it. Theſe formalities thus ſettled, let us now proceed to the tranſactions of the fleet under the command of ſir *John Leake* in the *Mediterranean*, who ſhewed no leſs prudence and fortitude in preſerving *Gibraltar*, than ſir *George Rooke* had done in acquiring it [a].

THE *French* and *Spaniards*, as their own writers confeſs, were obſtinate in their reſolution of retaking *Gibraltar*, coſt what it would. The eagerneſs ſhewn by king *Philip* on this occaſion, had like to have been fatal to him; and the method he took to regain *Gibraltar*, had well nigh loſt him *Spain*, by diſguſting moſt of the nobility. Hitherto, the marquiſe *Villadarias* had commanded before the town, and had done all that a man could do, in a very

[a] See the London Gazette, No. 4090. Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Pointer's chronological hiſtory.

ry bad ſeaſon, with very indifferent troops. King *Philip*, however, removed him, and ſent marſhal *de Teſſe*, a *Frenchman*, with the title of captain-general, to command in his place, and at the ſame time, baron *de Pointis* was ordered to ſail with his ſquadron from *Cadiz* to block up the place by ſea. This being performed, the *Spaniards* made no doubt of their being quickly maſters of the city; and indeed the prince of *Heſſe* found the *French* general ſo much better acquainted with the art of war, and ſo much better ſupplied with all things neceſſary, than the *Spaniard* had been, that he thought it requiſite to ſend an expreſs directly to *Lisbon*, to deſire ſir *John Leake* to come with all imaginable ſpeed to his aſſiſtance a. Sir *Thomas Dilkes* was in the mean time arrived from *England*, with five third rates, and a body of troops; and theſe being embarked, ſir *John* ſailed from *Lisbon* on the ſixth of *March*, to prevent the loſs of this important fortreſs.

UPON the ninth of the ſame month, he had ſight of cape *Spartell*, but not having light enough to reach the bay of *Gibraltar*, he thought proper to lie by, to prevent his being diſcovered from the *Spaniſh* ſhore, intending to ſurprize the enemy early in the morning; but, by bad weather, was prevented from making ſail, as ſoon as he

a It was the great misfortune of king Philip, that few of the Spaniſh officers were able to ſerve him effectually; and yet none of them could bear the thoughts of ſerving under French men. His making marſhal de Teſſe captain-general, gave exceſſive offence, inſomuch, that many of the principal nobility, and ſome who had conſiderable offices about his perſon, immediately entered into intrigues for driving him out again. Quincy, Hiſtoire militaire, p. 441. Memoires de la Torres, Lamberti, &c.

intended. About half an hour paſt five, he was within two miles of cape *Gabretta*, when he diſcovered only five ſail making out of the bay, and a gun fired at them from *Europa Point*; whereupon, concluding the garriſon was ſafe, he gave chaſe to the ſhips, which proved to be the *Magnanimous* of 74 guns, the *Lilly* of 86, the *Ardent* of 66, the *Arragant* of 60, and the *Marquis* of 56. At firſt, they made for the *Barbary* ſhore; but ſeeing our fleet gained upon them, they ſtood for the *Spaniſh* ſhore: at nine o'clock ſir *Thomas Dilkes*, on board her majeſty's ſhip *Revenge*, together with the *Newcaſtle*, *Antelope*, *Expedition*, and a *Dutch* man of war, got within half gun-ſhot of the *Arragant*, and after a very little reſiſtance, ſhe ſtruck, the *Newcaſtle*'s boat getting firſt on board her. Before one o'clock, the *Ardent*, and the *Marquis* with two *Dutch* men of war, and the *Magnanimous*, with the *Lilly*, ran aſhore a little to the weſtward of *Marbella*. The former, which the baron *de Pointis* was on board of, ran aſhore with ſo much force, that all her maſts came by the board as ſoon as ſhe ſtruck upon the ground, and only her hull, from the traffril to the midſhips, remained above water, which the enemy ſet fire to in the night, as they did to the *Lilly* next morning. After the engagement was over, our ſquadron got farther from the ſhore, and on the twelfth, looked into *Malaga* road, where her majeſty's ſhips, the *Swallow* and *Leopard*, chaſed a *French* merchant-man aſhore, of the burthen of about three hundred tons, which the enemy burnt. The reſt of the enemy's ſhips, having been blown from their anchors ſome days before ſir *John*'s arrival, took ſhelter in *Maloga* bay; and ſoon after, hearing the report of our guns, cut their ca-

bles,

bles, and made the beſt of their way to *Toulon* [b]. Upon this, marſhal *de Teſſe*, finding it abſolutely in vain to continue the ſiege, formed a blockade, and withdrew the reſt of his troops. M. *Pointis* was well received at the court of *France*, notwithſtanding his misfortune, neither did the marſhal *de Teſſe* meet with any check on account of his behaviour; and indeed it would have been hard if he had, ſince he had done all that man could do, there having been thrown into *Gibraltar*, by the fifteenth of *March*, new ſtile, more than eight thouſand bombs, and upwards of ſeventy thouſand cannon-ſhot fired, though to very little purpoſe [c].

WHILE theſe great things were doing in the *Mediterranean*, ſir *George Byng* was ſent with a ſmall quadron of cruizers, into the *Soundings*. He ſailed in the latter end of *January*, with a large and rich fleet of outward-bound merchant-ſhips. As ſoon as he had ſeen theſe ſafe into the ſea, he diſpoſed of his ſquadron in ſuch a manner, as he thought moſt proper for ſecuring our own trade, and from meeting with the *French* privateers. Amongſt other new regulations which had been the conſequence of the merchants complaint, one was the ſending a flag-officer to have the conſtant direction of the cruizers; which in this caſe appeared a very wiſe proviſion, ſince ſir *George Byng*, by

[b] Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon: but all theſe are taken from the account publiſhed in the Gazette, No. 4116. [c] The obſtinacy of the two courts, in obliging their generals to continue this ſiege, when they were thoroughly ſenſible that it was to no purpoſe, proved the ruin of their affairs in Spain, at leaſt for that campain; and if it had not been for the accident of the earl of Galway's loſing his arm by a cannon-ſhot, which occaſioned the raiſing the ſiege of Badajoz, king Philip in all probability had been driven out of Spain. Memoires de la Torres, tom iv. p. 204. Quincy, &c.

by this diſpoſition of his ſhips, was ſo fortunate as to take from the enemy a man of war of forty four guns, twelve privateers, and ſeven merchant-ſhips, moſt of which were richly laden from the *Weſt-Indies*. The number of men taken on board all theſe prizes was upwards of two thouſand, and of guns three hundred thirty four. This remarkable ſucceſs made a great noiſe at that time; it was publiſhed by particular directions from the court, and has been ſince thought worthy of being inſerted in a general hiſtory; and yet there is not a word ſaid of the whole affair by mr. ſecretary *Burchet*, who muſt have known all the particulars of it as well, or better than any man, which renders his omiſſion the more extraordinary. This gave ſuch a blow to the *French* privateers, that they ſcarce ventured into the channel all the year after, but choſe rather to ſail northward, in hopes of meeting with ſome of our ſhips homeward-bound from the *Baltick* a.

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a See the Gazette, No. 4107, ſir George took at this time the following prizes.

PRIVATEERS.	Guns.	Men.
The Thetis, a man of war of	44	250
Delmaria	36	240
Philippo	22	220
Conſtable	30	210
Voler.	28	210
Royal	26	200
Beringhen	24	160
Sanſpareil	20	135
Miſerve	16	92
Marveilleux	14	85
Paſſboy	10	70
Bonaventure	10	70
Admirable	12	75

As alſo ſeven French merchant-ſhips, moſt of them richly laden from the Weſt-Indies.

WE are now to give an account of the exploits that were performed by the grand fleet, which was commanded by the famous earl of *Peterborough* and *Monmouth*, and sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, as joint admirals; and the first orders they received, were, to proceed for the *Mediterranean*, with the force then ready, which amounted to twenty nine sail of line of battle ships, besides frigates, fire-ships, bombs, and other small craft[a]. On the eleventh of *June* they arrived in the river of *Lisbon*, where they found sir *John Leake*, with his squadron, in great want of provisions; upon which the admiral ordered them to be supplied out of the stores brought from *England*, and that for four months whole allowance. On the fifteenth of *June* a council of war was held, at which were present the two joint admirals, sir *Stafford Fairborne*, sir *John Leake*, sir *Thomas Dilkes*, and *John Norris*, then captain to sir *Cloudesley Shovel*; of the *Dutch*, admiral *Allemonde*, vice-admiral *Wassender*, rear-admiral *Vanderdussen*, and rear-admiral *De Jonge*; wherein it was determined to put to sea with forty eight ships of the line, *English* and *Dutch*, and dispose them in such a station between cape *Spartel* and the bay of *Cadiz*, as might best prevent the junction of the *French* squadron from *Toulon* and *Brest*[b].

On

[a] Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon. Sir Cloudesley Shovel was the seaman picked out by the opposite party to rival sir George Rooke, and mighty expectations were raised on account of his being at the head of the grand fleet. There was likewise a good deal of pains taken to equip the ships he was to command in such a manner, as that he might want nothing abroad; but by his activity this year, justify their censures of what was done the last.

[b] We have a large account of this, in the

On the twenty second of *June*, sir *Cloudesley Shovel*, with the fleet, sailed for *Lisbon*; from thence he sailed to *Altea*-bay, and there took in his catholick majesty, who pressed the earl of *Peterborough* to make an immediate attempt on the city of *Barcelona*, and the province of *Catalonia*; where he was assured the people were well affected to him. This being agreed, the fleet sailed accordingly to *Barcelona* and arrived on the twelfth of *August*. After the troops were debarked, there were many disputes, whether the siege should, or should not, be undertaken; but at last the affirmative carried it; and then a proposal was made, that the fleet should land two thousand five hundred men, exclusive of the marines, and that the *Dutch* should land six hundred of their men; which was agreed to; on condition, however, that on the first certain intelligence of the *French* fleet's being at sea, both seamen and marines should embark again immediately. It was next deliberated in a council of war, whether the admiral's instructions, in regard to the duke of *Savoy*, should be complyed with or not; and it was resolved, that as the winter season was advancing, it was too late for the fleet to proceed for the coast of *Italy*. And at the same council of war it was determined to return to *England* the first fair wind after the twentieth of *September*.

On

the earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, written by doctor Friend, and in the partial enquiry into the management of that war, we have a copy of the resolutions taken in that very council. It is very clear from the original papers which have been printed in relation to this affair, that the admiral from the time of his coming before Barcelona, to the reduc-

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On the third of *September*, the prince of *Heſſe* having formed a ſcheme for attacking fort *Mountjuic*, it was put in execution; and though it coſt his highneſs his life, yet, through the extraordinary bravery of the earl of *Peterborough* who renewed the attack, it was taken. This giving a happy proſpect of the reduction of the place, the gunners and carpenters demanded by my lord *Peterborough*, were ordered by ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel* to be in conſtant readineſs to land. After this ſucceſs, the ſiege was puſhed with great vigour; the trenches were opened the ninth, and batteries raiſed for fifty guns and twenty mortars. His catholick majeſty having at length conſented to it, our bomb-veſſels threw four hundred and twelve ſhells into the town; and eight *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſhips, under the command of ſir *Stafford Fairborne*, being appointed to cannonade it from the ſea, while the cannon from the batteries and fort continued to do the like a ſhore, the viceroy, deſired to capitulate the twenty third, and the capitulation being ſigned the twenty eighth, the gate and baſtion of St. *Angelo* was delivered up the ſame day, and the whole city in a few days after. The ſurrender of this capital of *Catalonia* ſo ſtrengthened

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ing of that city, did all that was in his power for the ſervice of king Charles; and it likewiſe appears from the letters of the prince of Heſſe to him, that he was the perſon principally depended upon by his catholick majeſty, and to whom he conſtantly applied when diſtreſſed by his wants, or vexed by the earl of Peterborough's humours. It's no leſs clear from the ſame letters that the earl of Peterborough applied to him in like manner in all his difficulties, and was conſtantly aſſiſted and relieved; ſo that one may ſafely aſſert, that ſir Cloudeſley Shovel was the ſoul of this expedition, and that without him nothing was, nor indeed could be, done.

thened king *Charles*'s party, that the whole principality, *Roſes* only excepted, ſubmitted ſoon after [h].

ALL the world knows, that the reduction of *Barcelona* has been conſidered as one of the moſt extraordinary events that fell out in this, or, perhaps, in any modern war; and though we have already many accounts of it, which ſeem to attribute it, ſome to one thing, ſome to another; yet I will be bold to ſay, that nothing but the aſſiſtance given by our fleet could poſſibly have reduced it. When there wanted men to carry on the works, theſe were ſpared from the fleet; ſo were carpenters and engineers. While our army was before the place, captain *Leads* was ſent to reduce *Denia*, and captain *Cavendiſh* to take *Terragona*, both which they effected. When artillery was wanted, it was landed from the fleet, and when ammunition was wanted for this artillery, all the twenty four and eighteen pound ſhot were landed for the ſupply of the batteries, except as much as would ſupply thirty rounds; and when the city was taken, and a garriſon eſtabliſhed there by king *Charles* the third, the fleet landed eighteen hundred barrels of gun-powder, eight braſs cannon, and all the three pound ſhot they had. On the firſt of *October* it was reſolved in a council of war, that ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel* ſhould proceed for *England* with the beſt part of the fleet; that ſir *John Leake*, with a ſtrong ſquadron, ſhould be left in the *Mediterranean*; that ſix ſhips ſhould be left to attend the earl of *Peterborough*, two more remain at *Gibraltar*, and a third and fourth rate be employed at the requeſt of his *Portugueze* majeſty in cruizing for the homeward-bound *Brazil*

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h Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, complete hiſtory of Europe, for 1705, Life of queen Anne.

Brazil fleet[1]. In purſuance of theſe reſolutions, ſir *Cloudeſley*, with nineteen ſhips of the line, and part of the *Dutch Fleet*, paſſed the *Streights* on the ſixteenth of *October*, and arrived happily at *Spithead* on the twenty ſixth of *November*.

[1] In order to convince the reader of the truth of what has been aſſerted, it may not be amiſs to lay before him part of a letter written by ſir Cloudeſley to his royal highneſs the lord high admiral, dated october 12, 1705. containing an account of what paſt in the laſt days of this ſiege.

"The 17th, our battery of thirty guns was opened, and "fourteen of them began to play, with very great execution, "upon that part of the wall where the breach was deſigned; "the earl of Peterborough came aboard, and repreſented to "us the great neceſſity he laboured under for want of mo-"ney for ſubſiſting the army, and carrying on the ſiege of "Barcelona, and the ſervices in Catalonia, and in very preſ-"ſing circumſtances, deſired the aſſiſtance of the fleet; upon "which our flag officers came to the encloſed reſolution, "to lend the earl of Peterborough forty thouſand dollars out "of the contingent and ſhort allowance money of the fleet. "The 19th, we came to theſe reſolutions, viz. To remain "longer before Barcelona than was agreed on at firſt; to give "all the aſſiſtance in our power, and to lay a fire-ſhip a ſhore, with "two hundred barrels of powder; and a further demand being "made for guns for the batteries, we landed fourteen more, "which made up in all 72 guns, whereof 30 were twenty-"four pounders that we landed here, with their utenſils and "ammunition. We continue to bombard the town from the "ſea, as our ſmall ſtore of ſhells, and the weather will per-"mit. The 20th, a demand was made for more ſhot, and "we called together the Engliſh flag-officers, and came to a "reſolution to ſupply all the batteries, with all the twenty-"four and twenty-eight pound ſhot, except a very ſmall "quantity, which was accordingly done.

"The 22d, the prince of Lichenſtein, and the earl of Peter-"borough having deſired, at the requeſt of his catholic majeſty "that the town of Lerida might, for its ſecurity, be furniſhed "with about fifty barrels of powder; and a further ſupply of "ſhot being demanded for the batteries aſhore, it was conſi-"dered

cember following, after as glorious a ſea-campaign, as either our ſelves or our allies could expect [k].

It is but juſt, in ſuch a hiſtory as this, to mention our loſſes as well as our ſucceſſes: among theſe I was in ſome doubt, whether I ought to reckon the taking a great part of our homeward-bound *Baltick* fleet, with their convoy, conſiſting of three men of war, by the *Dunkirk* ſquadron, of which we have a large account in the *French* hiſtorians; I ſay, I was in ſome doubt about this, as finding no notice taken of it, either by mr. *Burchet* or our Gazettes; but as I am ſatisfied that the *Dutch* writers would not be partial to our enemies in ſuch a caſe, I find myſelf obliged to relate the fact as it is ſtated by them. The count *de St. Paul*, after the death of the famous *John du Bart* was looked upon as the beſt ſeaman in *France*, and therefore was promoted to the command of the *Dunkirk* ſquadron, in the room of monſ. *de Pointis*. We had a ſquadron under the command of ſir *Thomas Dilkes*, to watch that port, and another in the *Soundings*; yet mr. *de St. Paul* found means to get out with his ſquadron, conſiſting of five men of war and five privateers, and were joined at ſea by ſeveral other privateers; on the twentieth of *October*, O. S. they fell in with our *Baltick* fleet, and having directed mr. *du Bart*, with

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" dered at a council of war, and we came to the encloſed re-
" ſolutions, viz. To furniſh fifty barrels of powder for Lerida,
" and to ſend ſo many more twenty four and eighteen pound
" ſhot aſhore, as would reduce the Engliſh to thirty rounds,
" as likewiſe to be farther aſſiſtant upon timely notice.
" The 23d at night, our breach being made, and all
" things prepared for an attack, the town was again ſum-
" moned, and they deſired to capitulate, and hoſtages were
" exchanged; on our ſide, brigadier Stanhope, and on the
" enemies, the marquis de Rivera; and all hoſtilities ceaſed".

[k] Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, &c.

with one of the men of war and the privateers, to ſecure as many of the *Engliſh* ſhips as poſſible, mr. *de St. Paul*, with the other three men of war, attacked the convoy, which made a very gallant defence, but was at laſt forced to yield, and the count *d' Illiers*, who commanded after the death of mr. *de St. Paul* (who was ſhot in the midſt of the action with a muſquet ball) carried our three men of war, and twelve merchant-ſhips, into *Dunkirk*. I am extreamly ſurprized not to find the leaſt notice of this in any of the memoir-writers; but before I part with this fact, I muſt remark a very extraordinary ſaying of *Lewis* XIV. when the news was brought him at *Verſailles*. The perſon who told it, thought the king received him very coldly, and repeated it therefore pretty loud, that there were three *Engliſh* men of war, and twelve merchant-men, carried into *Dunkirk*. *Very well*, returned the king, with a ſigh; *I wiſh they were all ſafe in any* Engliſh *port, if that would reſtore me mr.* de St. Paul. This was certainly a very noble and generous ſpeech, and it was by ſuch teſtimonies of reſpect as theſe, that in the midſt of his misfortunes the *French* king always maintained a ſucceſſion of brave officers, ever ready to expoſe their lives in his ſervice [1].

[1] This I take from a private letter from Paris, publiſhed in the Mercure hiſtorique, 1705, and it is confirmed likewiſe by father Daniel, and other hiſtorians. Her majeſty queen Anne ſhewed no leſs regard to merit on a recommendation from his catholic majeſty. Captain John Norris (whom I take to have been the late worthy ſir John Norris,) having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an extraordinary manner in the attack of fort Montjuic, king Charles III. was pleaſed to write a letter in his favour to the queen, who knighted him, and made him a preſent of a thouſand guineas.

At home we had this year a ſignal inſtance of naval diſcipline, which therefore deſerves a place in this work. One captain *Croſs*, who commanded the *Elizabeth*, gave her up to the *French* in the channel, after a very ſlight defence. He was tried by a court-martial on board the *Triumph*, on the twenty fifth of *Auguſt*, ſir *George Byng* being preſident, and having twelve captains to aſſiſt him. It appeared there, that he ſhewed the utmoſt ſigns of fear, which intimidated the men, and that if he had behaved as he ought to have done, the enemy might have been repulſed, and the ſhip ſaved. He offered ſeveral things in his defence, ſuch as that, his ſurgeon was ſick, and many of the men were drunk, and would not do their duty; but, upon a full hearing, he was declared guilty of neglect of duty, and the ſentence pronounced upon him was, that he ſhould be caſhiered, rendered incapable to ſerve her majeſty in any capacity, forfeit all the arrears due to him, and remain a priſoner for life [m].

Our trade eſcaped, generally ſpeaking, better this year, than it had done formerly; for in the month of *November* there arrived ten *Eaſt-India* ſhips, that had for ſome time put into *Ireland*: a few days after there came thirty *Weſt-India* men into the *Downs*, and the very ſame day nineteen veſſels from *Barbadoes*, which were given over for loſt. Yet all this could not quiet the merchants; they ſtill exclaimed grievouſly againſt the lord high

[m] The evidence againſt this man was very full and clear, and a reſolution having been taken to preſerve for the future very ſtrict diſcipline in the navy, it was reſolved to make ſuch an example of him as he deſerved; and this it was that induced the queen to ſuffer this ſentence to be put in execution without any mitigation, except as to his impriſonment.

high admiral's council, and things roſe to ſuch a heighth, that I find in ſome of the *Dutch* papers of that time, it was expected the queen would have reſtored the earl of *Pembroke*, and that his royal highneſs would be created lord high conſtable of *England*: but by degrees this affair blew over, for the prince's council were extreamly wiſe in one particular; they conſtantly printed large vindications of their conduct, and accounted ſo plauſibly for every thing that was charged upon them, that it was a very few only, and thoſe too well verſed in maritime affairs, who were able to diſtinguiſh where they were right, or where they were wrong; ſo that they never wanted a ſtrong party for them amongſt the people; and even at this day it is a thing very difficult, if not altogether impracticable to diſtinguiſh between the complaints that were excited by a ſpirit of party, and thoſe that were really grounded in their miſcarriages or neglects[a].

In this year our ſucceſſes had been ſo great both by ſea and land, and there appeared ſo fair a proſpect of humbling the houſe of *Bourbon* in *Flanders*, and of driving them out of *Spain*, that when her majeſty thought fit to recommend

[a] Biſhop Burnet gives a very different account of our affairs at ſea in this year, from thoſe that I have already cited from him, and therefore it is but juſt that I ſhould give the reader this. "Our affairs at ſea were more proſperous this year, "than they had been formerly. In the beginning of this ſeaſon, "our cruizers took ſo many of the French privateers, that we "had ſome thouſands of their ſeamen in our hands. We "kept ſuch a ſquadron before Breſt, that the French fleet did "not think fit to venture out, and their Toulon ſquadron had "had ſuffered ſo much in the actions of the former years, "that they either could not, or would not venture out: by "this means, our navigation was ſafe, and our trade was "proſperous."

mend the *Spaniſh* war in a particular manner to parliament, the houſe of commons immediately voted two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, for the proſecution of thoſe ſucceſſes; and for the whole ſervice of *Spain*, during the ſucceeding year, they gave no leſs than ſeven hundred twenty ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and forty pounds; afterwards they voted for the ſupply of the ſea ſervice, for the year 1706, forty thouſand men, including the marines; they then voted one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, for the ordinary of the navy; ten thouſand pounds, to the office of *Ordnance*, for the works at *Portſmouth*, and eighteen thouſand two hundred ninety eight pounds ſeventeen ſhillings, one farthing, for ordnance ſtores and carriages for the eight new ſhips built to ſupply the loſs of ſuch as periſhed in the great ſtorm [o].

After ſo generous a ſupply, the miniſtry had nothing to conſider, but how to employ it in ſuch a manner, as that thoſe, upon whom it was raiſed, might be ſatisfied that it was laid out for their ſervice; and this produced a reſolution of equipping a numerous fleet, as early as it was poſſible: but it being found by experience, that it was ſimply impracticable to man the navy, as the laws then ſtood, both houſes, to ſhew their earneſt deſire to put maritime affairs into the beſt condition poſſible, came to certain reſolutions, upon which a bill was brought in, that perfectly anſwered its purpoſe for that time, and enabled ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel* to man very fully and in good time the large fleet that was intended for the *Mediterranean* ſervice.

[o] See the votes of the houſe of commons for the year 1705.

vice [p]. This, with the ſettling the terms of the union, were the matters which principally took up the attention of this ſeſſion of parliament. While the houſe was yet ſetting, ſir *Edward Whitaker* had orders to aſſemble a ſquadron to convoy the duke of *Marlborough* to *Holland*, which he did in the beginning of the month of *April*, and having ſeen the yachts ſafe into the *Maize*, returned by the middle of the month [q]. BEFORE

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[p] The houſe came to theſe reſolutions on Thurſday the 14th of March, 1705-6, and it is neceſſary, that the reader ſhould be made acquainted with them. In few words, then they were, 1. That in order to man the navy for this year, the juſtices of peace, and other civil magiſtrates, be impowered and directed to make ſearch after ſeamen that lay concealed. 2. That the ſaid juſtices and civil magiſtrates cauſe ſuch ſeamen, when found, to be delivered to ſuch perſons, as ſhould be appointed to receive them. 3. That a penalty ſhould be laid upon ſuch perſons as ſhould preſume to conceal ſeamen. 4. That a reward be given to ſuch perſons as ſhould diſcover, and take up ſuch hidden ſeamen. 5. That conduct-money be allowed. 6. That ſeamen being turned over from one ſhip to another, ſhould receive the wages due on the former ſhip. 7. That able-bodied land-men be raiſed for the ſea ſervice. To bring theſe reſolutions to effect, they ordered, that the committee to whom the bill for the encouragement and encreaſe of ſeamen, &c. was committed, ſhould have power to receive a clauſe or clauſes purſuant thereunto, and to receive a clauſe for diſcharging ſuch ſeamen, and other inſolvent priſoners as were in priſon for debt, and delivering them into her majeſty's ſervice on board the fleet. Which being paſſed into an act, received the royal aſſent on the nineteenth. The ſame day the lords addreſſed her majeſty on the ſame ſubject, praying her to take it into her royal care, and employ proper perſons to conſider of effectual means to reſtore the diſcipline of the navy, in order to be laid before the parliament the beginning of the next ſeſſion. Purſuant to which, her majeſty a few days after, cauſed a long proclamation to be publiſhed for the better putting in execution the act of parliament above mentioned.

[q] Burchet, Oldmixon, compleat hiſtory of Europe for the year 1706, life of queen Anne, &c.

BEFORE we mention the proceedings of the grand fleet, it will be neceſſary to give an account of the exploits performed by ſir *John Leake*, whom we lately left ſteering his courſe for the river of *Lisbon*. In that paſſage he had the misfortune to meet with worſe weather, and more contrary winds, than was uſual in thoſe ſeas, or in that ſeaſon r. This unforeſeen accident, reduced the *Engliſh* ſquadron to ſome ſtreights for proviſions; and the *Dutch*, who are much heavier ſailors, to far greater. However, when they were off cape St. *Vincent*, they met the *Pembroke*, *Roebuck*, and *Falcon*, which eſcorted a ſmall fleet of victuallers, that could not have arrived more opportunely, or have been conſequently more welcome. On his coming to *Lisbon*, ſir *John Leake* had ſome propoſals made him by the *Portugueze* miniſtry which were thought altogether impracticable in the then ſituation of things, and therefore ſir *John* waved complying with them. In the beginning of the month of *February*, came letters from the *Admiralty*, with advice of the mighty preparations that were making in the *French* ports, and the reſolution that had been taken by the *Spaniards* to ſend away their galleons directly from *Cadiz*, under a *French* convoy, for the *Weſt-Indies*; which ſir *John* was directed to conſider, and, if poſſible, to prevent; of which mighty hopes were conceived in *England*, when theſe news were made public; ſir *John* being held as able, and withal as fortunate an admiral, as any in the ſervice, and indeed deſerved to be ſo reputed [s].

UPON

[s] See doctor Friend's account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct, and the impartial enquiry into the management of the war in Spain; as alſo Burchet, &c. [t] This ſcheme of

UPON this intelligence, he called a council of war on the ſixteenth of *February*, in which it was reſolved, to proceed directly with the ſhips then ready, which were nine third rates, one fourth, two frigates, two fire-ſhips, and one bomb-veſſel, *Engliſh*; ſix ſhips of the line, one frigate, two fire-ſhips, and a bomb-veſſel, *Dutch*; and with theſe, in caſe the galleons were in the harbour of *Cadiz*, to enter it directly, if wind and weather would permit, and either take or deſtroy them. On the nineteenth another council of war was held, before which was laid a memorial of the *Portugueze* miniſtry, directed to mr. *Methuen*, in relation to the homeward-bound *Brazil* fleet; and ſtrict inſtructions from the lord high admiral, for ſuccouring his catholick majeſty without delay. Upon mature deliberation, they remained fixed to their former reſolves, with theſe additions only, that as ſoon as they had executed their intended deſign on the galleons, they would make ſuch a detachment as the *Portugueze* deſired; and that whenever they were joined with the ſhips and tranſports from *England* at *Gibraltar*, whither they intended to repair, they would inſtantly ſteer

of ſending ſo great a fleet into the Weſt-Indies, was of the laſt importance to the houſe of Bourbon; ſince, without a ſupply of money, the war could not be carried on in Europe; as, on the other hand, there was little hopes of preſerving the Weſt-Indies in a due dependance upon Spain, without furniſhing them from time to time with proper ſupplies. If, therefore, we could have taken the galleons at this time, it is moſt evident, that we muſt have diſappointed both their deſigns, which, as things then ſtood, would in all probability have obliged king Philip to retire into France, at leaſt for the preſent, and perhaps have put it out of his power to return to Spain.

their courſe for the coaſt of *Catalonia*. When theſe reſolutions were formed, and the day fixed for the departure of our fleet, ſir *John Leake* acquainted mr. *Methuen*, then our ambaſſador at the court of *Portugal*, that it would be neceſſary to lay an embargo on all ſhips and veſſels, that the enemy might have no intelligence of our deſign; and upon mr. *Methuen*'s application, ſuch an order was granted. But as there is nothing weaker, or at leaſt nothing more ſubject to diſappointment, than human policy, ſo this point that was thought ſo neceſſary to our ſecurity, proved, by an accident altogether unaccountable, the ruin of our deſign. Sir *John Leake* ſailed with the fleet under his command on the twenty fourth of *February*; but, when he arrived before fort St. *Julian*, the duke *de Cadaval*, who commanded there, diſcharged firſt ſeveral ſingle guns, and then fired the cannon of a whole baſtion upon him. This ſurprized the admiral very much, who ſending to know the reaſon of it, the duke pretended that it was done in purſuance of the order of embargo, as if the court of *Portugal* could poſſibly intend to detain the fleet of the allies in their harbour. This diſpute hindered ſir *John*'s ſailing, ſomewhat more than twenty-four hours, and in the mean time the *Portugueſe*, who doubted whether the embargo did not extend to the fleet of the allies, ſuffered five merchants-ſhips, two of which were *Danes*, and were ſuppoſed to have given notice of the deſign, to go out of the port the next day after the embargo was laid †.

ON

† It was very juſtly ſuſpected, that there was more of treachery than of miſtake, in this odd affair; and indeed, whoever conſults

On the twenty ſeventh Sir *John Leake*, reached cape St. *Vincent*, where he met with an eaſterly wind which decayed ſo about noon, that it became perfectly calm. Next morning, however, he lay fair for the galleons, if they had come out before the wind would ſuffer him to reach *Cadiz*. But that night he received advice, that the galleons had ſailed with a very hard gale at eaſt, on the tenth of *March*, N. S. the twenty ſeventh of *February* according to ours; ſo that it is plain that if he had ſailed on the twenty fourth he muſt have met them. He was likewiſe informed, that they conſiſted of thirty ſix ſail, that is to ſay twenty four galleons, and ten or twelve *French* privateers; from forty to fifty ſix guns, which were ordered to ſee them ſafe into the ſea. Sir *John* ſteered after them, though with little hopes of coming up, unleſs the eaſt wind had left them when they were at the height of cape St. *Vincent*. Next morning he ſaw two ſail a-head, to which the fleet gave chaſe. About ſix the *Dutch* vice-admiral *Waſſenaer* took one of them, and ſoon after the other was taken by the *Northumberland*; they proved to be *Spaniſh* ſhips bound for the *Canaries*; and as they ſailed from *Cadiz* the day after the galleons, it was thought needleſs to continue the chace longer [u].

We

conſults the hiſtory of the war in Spain, as written under the direction of lord Galway, will find ſufficient reaſon to believe, that the French had always a ſtrong party in the court of Portugal, who made it their buſineſs to thwart vigorous meaſures, and to give all the checks poſſible to the ſchemes formed by the allies, for puſhing on the war with vigour, from the ſide of Portugal; and this was ſometimes ſo bare-faced, that mr. Methuen was conſtrained to threaten them into better behaviour.

[u] The maſters of theſe two prizes, owned to ſir

WE are now to turn our eyes towards the conduct of king *Charles* III. He had been left in the city of *Barcelona* with a very ſmall garriſon, while the earl of *Peterborough* went to conquer the kingdom of *Valentia*, which he very happily accompliſhed, though with a very inconſiderable force. The *French* and *Spaniards* in the mean time were projecting the deſtruction of king *Charles*'s affairs at a ſingle blow; and it muſt be acknowledged, that their ſcheme was ſo well laid, that nothing, but a few untoward accidents, could have diſappointed it. This deſign of theirs was to ſhut him up in *Barcelona*, which city they intended to attack by land and ſea, in the beginning of the month of *March*, when they looked upon it as a thing impoſſible for our fleet to have ſuccoured him, as indeed it would have proved. The care of the land army was committed to marſhal *Teſſe*, but whether he really wanted activity in his own nature, or was ſo croſſed in all his undertakings by the grandees of *Spain*, that he could do nothing; I ſay, which ever was the caſe, ſo it was, that when the count *de Thoulouſe* was ready to ſail with the *French* fleet from *Toulon*, the *Spaniſh* army was in no condition to form the ſiege; ſo that the whole month of *March* was ſpun out in preparations, and the place was not

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ſir John Leake, that they had intelligence at Cadiz of his deſign, and that this induced the galleons to ſail as they did. Now, to underſtand this perfectly, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the order for the embargo was obtained on the 22. The two Daniſh ſhips were permitted to ſail on the 23d. Sir John Leake with his fleet, was retarded, as we have related in the text, on the evening of the 24th, and did not ſail till late on the 25th.

not inveſted till the beginning of *April*[w]. This deſign was very early diſcovered here, and advice was ſent of it to ſir *John Leake* before he ſailed from *Lisbon*; but it does not appear, that either the earl of *Peterborough*, or king *Charles*, apprehended this miſchief in time, otherwiſe the king would have been provided with a better garriſon, and the place have been certainly put into a condition of making a greater reſiſtance. After miſſing his deſign on the galleons, the fleet, under the command of ſir *John Leake*, repaired to *Gibraltar*, where he received a letter from his catholick majeſty, entreating his immediate aſſiſtance, in terms which ſufficiently diſcovered the diſtreſs he was in, and the apprehenſions he was under [x].

THE

[w] This account I have taken from the French hiſtorians, Quincy, hiſtoire militaire, tom. v. p. 204. Lamberti, tom. iv. p. 146. P. Daniel.

[x] The ſtile and contents of king Charles's letter to ſir John Leake, are ſo ſingular, that they certainly deſerve the reader's notice.

"I the KING.

"Admiral LEAKE.

"I am diſpoſed to take upon me this occaſion to adviſe you "the high risk this principality and my royal perſon is found "in; for I make no doubt before to-morrow the enemy will "moleſt us. They have already blockaded me with a ſqua- "dron, and their army is now almoſt in ſight of this city, and "by their quick marches, have obtained ſome poſts, which, "if they might have been prevented, would very much have "hindred their deſigns.

"I am reſolved, although I find myſelf with ſuch a ſmall "garriſon (as a thouſand men of regular troops, and four hun- "dred horſe) not to leave this place; for, in the preſent con-

THE king's fears were far from being ill founded. M. *Teſſe* came before the place with a numerous army, and the count *de Thoulouſe* landed ammunition and proviſion ſufficient for the ſervice of an army of thirty thouſand men for two months; ſo that it is very evident, the *French* did all that could be expected from them by ſea; and if their endeavours had been as well ſeconded on ſhore, the place had undoubtedly been loſt. But it ſo fell out, that the *Sieur de Lepara*, their principal engineer, was far enough from being a perfect maſter of his trade. He made a miſtake at the beginning, which loſt him eight or ten days time, and before he could correct this, they loſt him by a ſhot from the place. This proved an irreparable misfortune; for though he was but an indifferent engineer, yet after his death it appeared they had not his equal, ſo that when they came to make an aſſault on the place, they were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Theſe circumſtances I thought it neceſſary to relate, previous to our account of

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" juncture, I have conſidered, that my going hence will be the " loſs of the city, and conſequently of all the other places " which the happy ſucceſs of the laſt campaign hath reduced " to my obedience; for which reaſon, it is my opinion to riſk " all, and venture the caſualties that a ſiege is incident to, " putting juſt truſt and confidence in your known zeal towards " the great forwarding the common cauſe, making no doubt, " how much you have contributed towards the ſuccours for- " wardneſs. I hope in a few days you will appear before this " place, where your known valour and activity may meet " with a glorious ſucceſs, for which I ſhall again conſtitute " you the credit of my royal gratitude.

" Given at Barcelona, the 31ſt of March, 1706.

" I the KING.

" By command of the king my maſter,

" HENRY DE GUNTER."

of ſir *John Leake*'s proceedings; and having now ſhewn the errors, miſtakes, and misfortunes of the *French* and *Spaniards* before *Barcelona*, we will return to our fleet, and the meaſures taken for relieving king *Charles* by raiſing the ſiege [y].

ON the third of *April*, commodore *Price*, with ſix *Engliſh* and as many more *Dutch* men of war, joined ſir *John Leake*, who, in a council of war held on the ſixth, reſolved, in obedience to king *Charles*'s letter, to ſail immediately to *Barcelona*. In purſuance of this reſolution, he arrived on the eighteenth in *Altea* Bay, and the next day had intelligence, that ſir *George Byng*, with a ſquadron from *England*, was coming up; three days after they were joined by commodore *Walker*, with his ſquadron, as they had been the day before by ſir *George Byng*; and then it was determined to ſail north of *Majorca*, and that each ſhip ſhould make the beſt of her way without ſtaying for the reſt. Upon the twenty ſixth the earl of *Peterborough* came off from *Terragona*, with a ſquadron of barks, having fourteen hundred land forces on board, and when he came to the fleet, hoiſted the union-flag on board the *Prince George*, as admiral and commander in chief. His excellency found that the councils of war had rejected his propoſals, and indeed their rejecting them ſaved the place; ſince before his arrival, ſir *George Byng*, ſir *John Jennings*, and admiral *Waſſenaer*, had anchored in the road of *Barcelona*,

and

[y] All the French hiſtorians agree, that their deſign on Barcelona miſcarried through their own fault, and, generally ſpeaking, relate the whole affair as I have done in the text. But if any reader of a more curious and critical diſpoſition than ordinary, would ſee a long and exact detail of this affair, he may be ſatisfied in the admirable memoirs of M. de Feuquieres, Tom. iv. p. 151.

and by the contrivance of sir *George Byng*, a considerable body of troops had been thrown into the town [a]. On the twenty seventh in the afternoon, the whole fleet arrived in the harbour of *Barcelona*, without meeting with the least opposition; for the count *de Thoulouse* having received an exact account of the naval force of the allies, thought fit to sail away with the *French* fleet to *Toulon*; which obliged the land-army (as we shall hereafter see) to raise the siege with great precipitation. This relief appeared the more surprizing, and must have been consequently the more grateful to king *Charles*, and all his faithful subjects, since it prevented their destruction but by a few hours, the enemy having made all the necessary dispositions for storming the place that very night, when, considering the extreme weakness of the garrison, their success could scarce be doubted [b].

Two days after the arrival of the fleet, M. *de Tesse* thought fit to raise the siege in a very extraordinary manner, for which our own, and the *French* historians, profess themselves equally at a loss to account. His army consisted still of fourteen thousand men, the succours thrown into the place, did not exceed six thousand; so that it was very strange he should leave behind him a train of one hundred and six pieces of brass cannon, forty seven mortars, two thousand

[a] All these brisk and extraordinary measures, which appeared by the event so indispensably necessary, were concerted as well as executed, by our admirals only; the earl of Peterborough, though he had been constantly before of a sentiment directly different, when he saw them put in practice, and foresaw (as he easily might) their good effects, very judiciously approved them. Impartial inquiry into the management of the war in Spain, p. 101. [b] Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Quincy, P. Daniel, Feuquieres, de Larrey, &c.

thouſand bombs, ten thouſand granades, forty thouſand cannon-ſhot, two hundred barrels of muſquet-ſhot, five thouſand barrels of powder, eight thouſand ſwords, eighteen thouſand ſacks of corn, beſides flour, rye, and oats, in proportion, not only undeſtroyed, but untouched, as if they intended it as a preſent to the beſieged, by way of compenſation for the trouble they had given them. Yet to me, the cauſe of this is pretty evident [b]; the marſhal ſaw himſelf under the neceſſity of regaining the kingdom of *Caſtile*, by a ſtrange ſort of a march, firſt into *Rouſſillon*, then round by the *Pyrenees*, and ſo through *Navarre*, which conſtrained him to leave his ſick and wounded in his camp, with a letter recommending them to the earl of *Peterborough*'s clemency: and, I make no manner of queſtion, that he choſe to let things remain as he did, that theſe helpleſs people might obtain the more favour; which, though needleſs, when he had to do with an *Engliſh* general, was nevertheleſs humane in him. The admiral took to himſelf and his officers the honour of this great exploit, which was one of the moſt important, and withal one of the moſt honourable, that happened throughout the war [c]. His moſt catholick majeſty, on the other hand, was

[b] The accounts that I have given of the raiſing this ſiege, are taken from French hiſtorians, who are certainly like to be beſt informed, and, with reſpect to the ſtores left behind, moſt impartial: and this, I ſuppoſe, is ſufficient to ſatisfy the moſt critical reader, as to the difference between my computations and thoſe he may meet with in ſome other hiſtories.

[c] This appears by ſir John Leake's letter to the prince's ſecretary, dated at Barcelona, May 1ſt, 1706, in which, among other things, he ſays, "The 27th of laſt month I got to this "place, and in a lucky time to reſcue it from falling into the "enemies

was no leſs ready in paying a juſt tribute of praiſe and reſpect to his merit; ſo that, if ever there was a fact ſo well eſtabliſhed as to be out of all diſpute it is this, that *Barcelona* was relieved by ſir *John Leake*[d].

THE

" enemies hands, for they expected to have been ſtormed the " next night. Count Thouloufe, with the fleet under his com- " mand, which conſiſted of about 28 of the line, retired the " night before; but if it had pleaſed God, that the wind had " continued that brought ſir George Byng, to me, I believe I " ſhould have been able to have given you a much better ac- " count of his ſtrength. This comes by captain George De- " lavale, who is ſent by my lord Peterborough, with the king " of Spain's, and his lordſhip's own letters to her majeſty in " the Paulcon, which ſhip his excellency has appointed Mr. " Robert Delavale, brother to captain Delavale to command".

[d] A more pregnant proof of this cannot be had, than from the following letter of his catholick majeſty, to ſir John Leake, before the relief of Barcelona, indeed; but which evidently ſhews, that the king placed all his hopes in our naval force, and expected from ſir John Leake alone, that it ſhould be exerted for his preſervation. This letter to ſay the truth is ſo honourable to the Britiſh arms, as well as to the very worthy man to whom it is addreſſed, that I thought fit to tranſcribe the the whole, otherwiſe, the laſt paragraph might very well have ſerved my purpoſe.

" SIR,

" It is with no ſmall ſatisfaction, that I have been informed, " from the earl of Peterborough's letters, of your happy ar- " rival upon the coaſt of Valencia. I doubt not, but you have " heard of the loſs of Montjuic, and of the condition my town " of Barcelona is in, where I was willing to ſuffer myſelf to " be beſieged, and to endure all the hardſhips and accidents of " war, to encourage both the garriſon and my ſubjects, by my " preſence, to make a long and vigorous defence.

" It ſeems, by the enemy's motions, they have already " received notice of your approach; but inſtead of thinking to " retreat, they have redoubled their efforts, and fire upon the " breach, which will be in a condition to be ſtormed after to- " morrow at fartheſt; and in all appearance, they will make a " deſperate attempt to render themſelves maſters of this town " before the fleet can arrive with the ſuccours. " Hence

THE next great ſervice that was attempted, was the reducing *Alicant*; and in ſailing thither, putting into *Altea*-bay, the admiral received notice, that *Carthagena* was diſpoſed to ſubmit: upon which ſir *John Jennings* was ſent to that city, who returned on the twenty fourth of *June*, after leaving a garriſon in the place. But with reſpect to *Alicant*, the governor refuſed to ſurrender, and therefore it was reſolved to beſiege it by land, while it was attacked by the fleet at ſea [e]. To facilitate this, ſeamen were landed from the fleet, and ſir *George Byng*, with five ſhips, anchored in a line ſo near the town, that he quickly diſmounted all the enemy's artillery, though the guns pointing towards the ſea, were no fewer than one hundred and ſixty. On the twenty eighth in the morning, it was reſolved to attack the place on all ſides; and with this view ſir *John Jennings* landed the marines he

" Hence you will judge of the indiſpenſible neceſſity there " is, that you ſhould do your utmoſt endeavours to relieve us " without loſs of time, and bring the fleet directly hither, together " with the troops, to my town of Barcelona, without ſtopping " or diſembarking the forces elſewhere (as ſome other perſons " may pretend to direct you) for they can be no where ſo " neceſſary as in this town, which is at the very point of being " loſt for want of relief. Wherefore I pray God to have you " in his holy protection, and expecting the pleaſure of ſeeing " you as ſoon as poſſible, I aſſure you of my perfect eſteem " and acknowledgement.

" CHARLES.

" Barcelona, May 4, N. S. 1706.

" P. S. Sir, you will diſcern the condition we are in by our " letters, and I hope you will come as ſoon as poſſible to " ſave us, of which you alone ſhall have the glory. For the " reſt, I refer you to Mr. Stanhope's letter."

[e] Burchet, Oldmixon, compleat hiſtory of Europe for 1706, life of queen Anne, &c.

brought from *Carthagena*. About nine in the morning the ſhips had made a breach in the round tower, at the weſt end of the town, and another in the middle of the curtain, between the mole and the eaſtermoſt baſtion, when the land forces marching up towards the walls of the city, fifteen grenadiers, with an officer and ſerjeant, advancing, without order ſo to do, to the breach of the round tower, all the boats, under command of ſir *John Jennings*, went directly to ſuſtain them, but before the men landed, the grenadiers were beaten back. However, the boats proceeded, and all the men getting aſhore, captain *Evans* of the *Royal Oak*, mounted the breach firſt, got into the town with two or three of the boats crews; captain *Paſſenger*, of the *Royal Anne*, followed, and next to him captain *Watkins*, of the *St. George*, with ſome ſeamen. Sir *John Jennings* with the reſt of the ſeamen and forces, who were in poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs, moved on to ſupport them; who coming into the town ſecured the poſts, and made proper diſpoſitions until the reſt got in, when *Maboni* retired into the caſtle, left them in poſſeſſion, with the loſs of but very few men; colonel *Petit*, however, was killed in the ſuburbs, ſtanding arm in arm with ſir *John Jennings*, by a ſmall ſhot out of a window, as they were viewing the ground for raiſing a battery againſt the wall of the town; beſides whom there were not above thirty killed either of the ſea or land forces, and not more than eighty wounded, notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* had a continued communication from one houſe to another, and fired on our men from the windows and holes made for that purpoſe †.

NEXT

† All that I have ſaid, with reſpect to the ſervice perform-

ed

NEXT day brigadier *Gorge*, who commanded the troops before the place, ſummoned count *Mahoni* to ſurrender, which he abſolutely refuſed to do; but the ſhips continuing to canonade very briskly, and a great number of bombs being thrown into their works, the garriſon, which conſiſted moſtly of *Neapolitans*, compelled the governor to give up the place, notwithſtanding all his declarations to the contrary. Brigadier *Gorge* took poſſeſſion of it, and was appointed governor s. It was even then much diſputed whether this place was of any uſe, and whether the time and men loſt before it were not abſolutely thrown away. But, be that as it will, the conduct of ſir *John Leake*, and the courage of his officers and ſeamen are no way impeached thereby, nor does it at all leſſen the glory of this action, which was one of the boldeſt that ever was performed by men, that it was undertaken to little or no

ed by the fleet, is fully confirmed by the author of the enquiry into the management of the war in Spain, who gives us the following account of this tranſaction, p. 135. "Brigadier "Gorge's troops, which were ſo much wanted in Caſtile, "really contributed very little towards the reduction of Ali"cant; for as the fleet, without any aſſiſtance from the army, "had made themſelves maſters of Carthagena, not long before, "by the exemplary courage and conduct of ſir George Byng, "and ſir John Jennings; ſo now the ſquadron, which ſir John "Leake had ordered ſir George Byng to command for that "purpoſe, bombarded and cannonaded the town of Alicant "with ſo much ſucceſs, that in a few days they made two "practicable breaches in the wall, between the eaſt and weſt "gates, which the ſailors bravely ſtormed; and ſir George "Byng, being in poſſeſſion of the place, forced open the gates "to let the land-forces in, who having loſt their engineer Petit, "were not yet even maſters of the ſuburbs."

s Burchet, compleat hiſtory of Europe, life of queen Anne.

purpose h. Thus much is certain, that soon after the taking of *Alicant*, king *Philip*'s forces were entirely driven out of *Arragon*, and that whole kingdom reduced to the obedience of his competitor.

AFTER the reduction of *Alicant*, sir *John Leake*, in the beginning of the month of *September*, sailed to *Altea*-bay, from whence he sent sir *John Jennings* with his squadron, intended for the *West-India* service, to refit at *Lisbon*. He next made the necessary disposition for a winter squadron, which was to be commanded by sir *George Byng*, and then proceeded to put in execution his last orders, which were to reduce the islands of *Ivica* and *Majorca*. These islands not only belong to the crown of *Spain*, but their situation rendered them very necessary at this time to the allies, as affording them an opportunity of supplying the places they had lately reduced with provisions, and securing a proper retreat for their smaller vessels, whenever it should be found necessary to keep a squadron in those seas during the winter. It does not appear, that the *Spanish* court had taken any precautions for their defence, as being entirely occupied with the thoughts of preserving *Minorca*, which was looked upon as the island of greatest importance, and therefore most of their regular troops were there i.

On

h The truth of this fully appears in a letter from brigadier Gorge to sir John Leake, in which he complains of being left in the midst of enemies, in so distressed a condition, that, unless sir John was able to relieve him, he declared that he should find himself obliged to abandon it.

i Burchet, compleat history of Europe, for 1706. Life of queen Anne.

On the ſixth of *September*, ſir *John* ſailed from *Altea*-bay, and on the ninth anchored before *Ivica*. This iſland, which is about fourſcore miles in circuit, abounds with corn, wine, fruit, ſalt, &c. and the inhabitants being a trading people, were rather inclined to ſubmit to the allies, than to remain under their old government; and therefore on the firſt ſummons they ſent deputies to make their ſubmiſſion, which was readily accepted, and King *Charles* III. proclaimed [k]. On the thirteenth the fleet ſailed for *Majorca*, and arrived on the fourteenth before *Palma*. This iſland, which is one of the fineſt in the world, abounded with all the neceſſaries of life, well planted and well peopled, and ſo large as to be once accounted a kingdom, was at this time governed by the *Conde de Alcudia*, who was a native of the place. He was warmly in the intereſt of king *Philip*, and when the admiral ſummoned him, ſent him a *Spaniſh* anſwer, "that he would defend the iſland as "long as there was a man in it." But upon throwing three or four bombs into the place, which did no great miſchief, the inhabitants roſe and forced the viceroy to ſurrender. He ſhewed his wiſdom, however, where he could not ſhew his courage, by making a very prudent capitulation. Sir *John Leake* left a garriſon in *Porto-Pin*, and two Men of war to carry off the *Conde*, and ſuch other of the inhabitants as were diſaffected to king *Charles* III. and on the twenty third of the ſame month he proſecuted his voyage for *England*. Before his departure, he received

k Burchet, Oldmixon, compleat hiſtory of Europe, annals of queen Anne, life of queen Anne, &c.

a letter from his catholick majeſty, who very gratefully acknowledged the ſervices he had done him, and expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction as to his conduct on all occaſions. On the ſecond of *October* ſir *John* paſſed the *Straights*, and on the fourth, when he was off the ſouth cape, detached ſir *George Byng*, with the winter-ſquadron, for *Liſbon*. On the ſeventeenth he arrived ſafe at St. *Helen*'s, having been ſeparated in a ſtorm from the reſt of the fleet, which came ſoon after into *Portſmouth*. And thus ended as ſucceſsful a ſea-campaign as is recorded in our own, or perhaps in any other hiſtory[1].

SIR *Stafford Fairborne*, then vice-admiral of the *red*, was appointed, with a ſmall ſquadron, to look into the mouth of the river *Charent*, with orders alſo to deſtroy ſuch ſhips as the enemy might have at *Rochfort*. He ſailed for this purpoſe in the latter end of the Month of *April*, and after continuing at ſea about three weeks, he returned to *Plymouth*, with a few prizes. Soon after he received orders to ſail for the *Downs*, from whence he was quickly ordered over to *Flanders*, to aſſiſt in taking *Oſtend*. Arriving before that place, he ſtood in ſo near the town, that they fired upon him, which he returned; but was ſoon after ordered to *Newport*, from whence, after the blockade of that place was formed, he came back to *Oſtend*. A ſcheme had been formed by ſome of the land-officers for deſtroying

[1] See the London Gazette, No. 4272, in which there is a large account of the capitulation with the vice-roy of Majorca, which ſhews, that ſir John Leake was a very able man in the cloſet, as well as the field, and knew how to treat, as well as how to act in a rougher manner.

deſtroying the little veſſels belonging to that port; but, when it came to be executed, it was found wholly impracticable. The entrance of the harbour being long, narrow, and crooked, whatever veſſel or ſhip attempted to go in, muſt inevitably be much expoſed to the platform of guns; ſo that there ſeemed but little hopes of attempting any thing againſt the ſhips by ſea, which lay all in a cluſter cloſe to the key, on the backſide of the town; but there were letters in the camp which inſinuated, that as ſoon as the trenches were opened, the batteries raiſed, and ſome bombs thrown into the place, the *Spaniards* in garriſon, aſſiſted by the ſeamen and burghers, would oblige the *French* garriſon to yield [m].

On the nineteenth of *June* the trenches were opened before the place; ſir *Stafford Fairborne*, with his ſquadron, cannonaded it by ſea, and at the ſame time two bomb-veſſels were ſent as near as might be, and when they came to play did great execution. Sir *Stafford* likewiſe cauſed all the ſmall frigates to run in as near the town as poſſible, and to diſcharge their broadſides; which they did with ſo little damage to themſelves, and ſo great hurt to the place, that the people began to mutiny, and the governor found himſelf (as he pretended) under a neceſſity of capitulating, which he did on the twenty-fifth. And thus the city of *Oſtend*, which had formerly held out ſo many months, was taken in a Week; though, beſides the *Spaniſh* garriſon, count *de la Motte*, was there with

[m] Burchet, Lediard, compleat hiſtory of Europe, life of queen Anne, Mercure Hiſtorique, &c.

a conſiderable body of *French* troops, which he undertook ſhould not ſerve again in ſix months; and, as one of their own writers pleaſantly ſays, it had been very happy for *France* if he had for himſelf undertaken never to ſerve again. After the ſurrender of *Oſtend*, ſir *Stafford Fairborne* returned to *Spithead*, to aſſiſt in convoying a body of troops that were intended for a deſcent [n].

BEFORE we ſpeak of the proceedings of the grand fleet under ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, it will be requiſite to ſay ſomething of the intended deſcent which we have juſt mentioned: this was a deſign framed upon the repreſentation of ſome *French Hugonots*; particularly of the famous marquis *Guiſcard*, who was afterwards engaged in a deſign to aſſaſſinate the queen. The land-forces deſigned for this ſervice conſiſted of very near ten thouſand men. They were to be commanded in chief by the earl *Rivers*; under him by the lieutenant generals *Earle* and *de Guiſcard*: the earl of *Eſſex*, and lord *Mordaunt*, eldeſt ſon to the earl of *Peterborough*, were to ſerve in this expedition as major-generals. On the 10th of *Auguſt* the fleet under the command of ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, ſailed from St. *Helen's*; but not being joined time enough by the *Dutch*, this project proved

[n] In the ſiege of Oſtend, the duke of Marlborough gave ſignal proofs of his perſonal courage; for coming to make a viſit to M. d' Auverquerque, he went into the trenches, where he ſtaid a conſiderable time, and examined every thing very attentively, though the enemy who had ſlackened their fire before, renewed it with exceſſive violence, as ſoon as they knew, by the ſalute of the fleet, that his grace was come to the camp. In doing this, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, he ſhewed, that when he was more careful of his perſon, it was out of reſpect to the ſervice, and not for any want of that temper of mind which commonly paſſes for heroiſm.

proved abortive; and it was reſolved, that the fleet ſhould proceed to *Liſbon* with theſe forces on board, and that they ſhould be employed in the ſervice of his catholic majeſty [o].

It does not appear, that, after their diſappointment in this ſcheme of making a deſcent on *France*, the miniſtry came to any reſolution as to the employment of the grand fleet, or of the land-forces on board it; it looks as if all things had been truſted to the wiſdom of the admiral, ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, and of the general. The fleet was extreamly late before it ſailed for the *Mediterranean*, *viz.* the ſixth of *September*; and being in the *Soundings* on the tenth of the ſame month, the *Barfleur*, a ſecond rate, ſprung a dangerous leak; which obliged the admiral to ſend her home, and to take the earl *Rivers*, and his principal officers, into his own ſhip the *Aſſociation*. Proceeding in their voyage, they met with exceeding bad weather, inſomuch, that when the admiral arrived in the river of *Liſbon*, he had with him but four men of war, and fifty tranſports; but he had the good luck to find the reſt of the fleet arrived before him, ſo that he began immediately to prepare for action, and ſent two ſhips of ſir *George Byng*'s ſquadron to *Alicant*, with money and neceſſaries for the army, then under the command of the earl of *Galway*, which was in very great want of them [p].

WHILE he was thus employed, he heard, with great regret, of the diſorders that had fallen out in the *Spaniſh* court

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[o] Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, Mercure hiſtorique, Annals of queen Anne, &c.

[p] Burchet, Oldmixon, life of queen Anne, compleat hiſtory of Europe for 1706, &c.

court and in our army. It is very hard to ſay, who was, or who was not, in the right; but this is certain, that in conſequence of theſe diſputes king *Charles* III. loſt his intereſt among the *Spaniards*, and though he was once maſter of *Madrid*, he was forced to quit it again, and his affairs began to fall into ſuch confuſion, that the admiral at *Lisbon* could ſcarce tell what he had to do, or how he was to act for his catholick majeſty's ſervice, and therefore thought it requiſite to ſend colonel *Worſley* to *Valencia*, in order to receive from the king himſelf and the general, a certain account of their affairs, and a true ſtate of the ſervices they expected from him. While this gentleman was gone, and before the admiral had it in his power to take any ſettled reſolution, the king of *Portugal* died, which threw the affairs of that kingdom into ſome confuſion; and that could not happen without affecting us. We before obſerved, that the *Portugueſe* miniſtry acted in a manner no ways ſuitable to the ſtrict alliance which then ſubſiſted between our court and theirs. But now things grew worſe and worſe; and whatever ſentiments the new king might be of, his miniſters ventured to take ſome ſuch ſteps, as were not to be borne with patience by an admiral of ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*'s temper, of which we ſhall give the reader an inſtance.

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* In order to be better informed of the particulars here mentioned, the reader may conſult our larger hiſtorians, the collections of Lamberti, and the memoirs of the count de la Torres. The narrow bounds preſcribed to my work, will not allow me to enter deeply into political diſquiſitions, for that would draw me beſide my purpoſe, ſo that whenever I touch upon them, it is only to preſerve the connection that is neceſſary to render the accounts I give of naval affairs eaſily, and fully, underſtood.

In the beginning of the month of *December*, the admiral having appointed some cruizing ships to proceed to sea, as they were going out of the mouth of the river, the *Portuguese* fired, at least three score shot, at them, to bring them to an anchor, which he perceiving, sent orders to our captains to push their way through; and accordingly they did so, without so much as returning one shot at the forts. The court of *Portugal*, upon his representing to them this barbarous usage, pretended, that the officers of the fort had done it without orders, for that they were only directed to fire at, and detain, a *Genoese* ship, whose master was indebted to the king. But the admiral being certainly informed, that this very ship was at the same time lying before the walls of the city of *Lisbon*, and that the master of her was ashore transacting his business, he let them know, in a manner which became a person in his post thus affronted, that if they offered to attempt any such thing again (for they had done it before to sir *John Leake*, as hath been already related) he would not stay for orders from his mistress, but take satisfaction by the mouth of his cannon. This declaration of sir *Cloudesley*'s had a very proper effect; and, though it might not mend the principles of the *Portuguese* ministry, it contributed greatly, however, towards teaching them better manners[r].

Upon the return of colonel *Worsley*, the admiral was apprized, by letters from the king and the earl of *Galway*, that, unless he could bring earl *Rivers*, and the forces under

[r] Burchet's naval history, p. 720. This was of a piece with the treatment they gave sir John Leake, when he intended to have attempted the galleons.

der his command, and land them ſo as that they might come to their aſſiſtance, things were likely to fall into as great confuſion as they were in the winter before, whereby all the advantages would be loſt which had been afterwards procured at ſo vaſt an expence, both of blood and treaſure, by the maritime powers. Theſe advices gave the admiral ſo much the more concern, as he knew that the ſhips were ſo much damaged by the rough weather they had met with in their paſſage, that it was impoſſible to fit them ſpeedily for ſea; and that on the other hand, the land-forces were ſo much reduced by ſickneſs, death, and other accidents, that, inſtead of ten, there were ſcarce ſix thouſand effective men. He reſolved, however, to do the beſt he could to comply with the king and the general's deſire; the rather becauſe he ſaw that nothing but ſpirit and diligence could poſſibly recover thoſe advantages, which had been loſt through diviſions and neglect of duty. He gave orders, therefore, for repairing, with the utmoſt diligence, the miſchief that had been done to his ſhips; directed the tranſports to be victualled, and made the other neceſſary diſpoſitions for proceeding with both the fleet and army for the *Spaniſh* coaſt, and was on the very point of embarking the troops, when he was reſtrained by an order from *England*, of which we ſhall ſay more when we come to treat of the tranſactions of the enſuing year, to which it properly belongs.[f] In

[f] I cannot pretend to ſay where the blame lay, as to the miſcarriages that happened in Spain, the reader will perhaps be beſt able to judge by comparing Dr. Friend's account of the earl of Peterborough's conduct in Spain, the earl of Galway's narrative, and the impartial enquiry into the wars there, which I have ſo often quoted.

In the mean time, captain *William Cony*, who commanded the *Romney*, a ſhip of fifty guns, having been diſpatched, as we before obſerved, by ſir *Cloudeſley Shovel*, to cruize in thoſe ſeas, and being then with the *Milford* and *Fowey*, two fifth rates, they received intelligence on the twelfth of *December*, that a *French* ſhip of ſixty guns, with thirty pieces of fine braſs cannon on board, that had been taken out of the ſhip commanded by M. *de Pointis*, and which he had run aſhore when he fled from ſir *John Leake*, lay at anchor under the cannon of *Malaga*, he reſolved to go and attempt her; which deſign he put in execution, though one of the fifth rates was accidentally diſabled, and the other ſeparated from him, and ſailing directly under the cannon of the place, cut her from her anchors, notwithſtanding all the fire they could make, and carried her ſafe into the harbour of *Gibraltar*. On the twenty ſixth of the ſame month he chaſed, and came up with another *French* ſhip, called the *Content*, that carried ſixty four guns. The captain of her, inſtead of attempting to fight the *Engliſh* ſhips, got as ſoon as he could under the cannon of a little caſtle, about eight leagues weſt of *Amuria*, where he crept as cloſe as it was poſſible to the ſhore. Captain *Cony* anchored before him, and ordered the *Milford* and *Fowey* to do the ſame, the one a-head, the other a-ſtern. They plied their guns for about three hours very briskly, and then the *French* ſhip took fire, blew up, and deſtroyed moſt of her men. This ſhip had been detached by M. *Villars*, to bring the before-mentioned ſhip from *Malaga*[t]. Some time after captain *Cony* took another *French*

[t] Burchet, Ledjard; but both their accounts are taken from the London Gazette, No. 4298.

French ship, called the *Mercury*, of forty two guns, which the *French* king had lent the merchants, and which at their expence was fitted out as a privateer.

I should now proceed to resume the history of affairs in the *West Indies*, but that there remains a remarkable action or two in *Europe*, which I think deserve notice, and therefore I have set them down here, in the close of the year, by themselves, not finding it so easy to reduce them to any particular service. On the nineteenth of *April*, the *Resolution*, a seventy-gun ship, commanded by captain *Mordaunt*, youngest son of the earl of *Peterborough*, having his father on board, and his catholick majesty's envoy to the duke of *Savoy*, fell in with six large ships of the enemy, in his passage to *Genoa*; the earl of *Peterborough* perceiving the danger, desired that himself, and the *Spanish* envoy, might be put on board a small frigate, called the *Enterprize*; for as he took his business then to be negotiating, not fighting, he was willing to escape to *Oneglia*, if it was possible, which according to his usual good fortune he was so lucky as to effect. The *Milford*, a fifth rate, which we have lately mentioned, was likewise with captain *Mordaunt*, but seeing the danger, ran from it, and escaped. On the twentieth the weather proved very bad, so that the *Resolution* was in part disabled, which gave the enemy an opportunity of coming up with her; upon which captain

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* Mr. secretary Burchet says, this happened on the 8th of July; but mr. Lediard conjectured very rightly, that, instead of July, it should have been January; and so it appears by the account we have of this transaction in the Gazette, No. 4304, where the article is dated from Lisbon, February 9, N. S. which is one proof out of many of the wretched incorrectness of this naval history, as to dates, in which one would have expected from its author's station, remarkable regularity and exactness.

captain *Mordaunt*, by advice of his officers, reſolved to run her aſhore, having received a great deal of damage in the engagement. About three in the afternoon he effected this, and ran her aground in a ſandy bay, within a third of a cable's length of the land, and directly under the cannon of the caſtle of *Ventimiglia*, belonging to the *Genoeſe*, who notwithſtanding gave them no aſſiſtance. About half an hour after four, captain *Mordaunt*, being diſabled by a ſhot in his thigh, was carried on ſhore, but would not retire far from his ſhip; and about five the *French* commodore manned out all the boats of his ſquadron, in order to board the *Reſolution*, under the fire of one of their ſeventy-guns ſhips, which plied ours warmly all the while, but the *Reſolution*, even in the condition ſhe was in, gave them ſuch a reception, as obliged them to return to their reſpective ſhips. On the twenty firſt about half an hour paſt ſix in the morning, one of the enemy's ſhips of eighty guns weighing her anchor, brought to under the *Reſolution*'s ſtern, and about nine a clock, a ſpring being put under the cable, ſhe lay with her broadſide towards her, while ſhe at the ſame time looked with her head right into the ſhore, ſo that it was not poſſible to bring any more guns to bear upon the *French* ſhip, than thoſe of her ſtern chaſe; and the others being within leſs than gun-ſhot, and the water coming into the *Reſolution* as high as her gun-deck, captain *Mordaunt* ſent to his officers for their opinion what was fitting to be done; and purſuant to their advice, he gave them directions to ſet her immediately on fire, which they did about eleven a clock, after the men were all put on ſhore; and by three in the afternoon ſhe was burnt to the water's Edge w.

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w Burchet, Lediard, compleat hiſtory of Europe, for the year 1706.

In the month of *November*, a ſingular adventure happened to the *Lisbon* packet-boat, which was taken by a *Dunkirk* privateer of conſiderable force. The mate, who had the care of the packet, hid it when the privateer appeared firſt in ſight, and being ſoon after killed, the captain threw over a cheſt of papers, with a weight of lead, juſt as the enemy boarded him, which they took for the mail, and therefore did not make ſo ſtrict a ſearch as otherwiſe they would have done. At ſea they were ſeparated from the privateer, which gave eleven *Engliſh* ſailors an opportunity of riſing upon fifteen *Frenchmen*, making themſelves maſters of the veſſel, and carrying her into the *Texel*, where the government letters were happily found, ſowed up in an oil-skin caſe, and thrown into a water-cask. We ended our laſt account of affairs in the *Weſt-Indies* with the return of admiral *Grayden*'s ſquadron from thence: it is now requiſite that we ſhould enter into a detail of what paſſed in thoſe parts, from that time to the cloſe of the year 1706.

The Complaints which had been made in almoſt every ſeſſion of parliament, of miſcarriages and miſdemeanors in the *Weſt-Indies*, engaged the miniſtry to make choice of ſir *William Whetſtone* to go thither with a ſquadron of ſeven men of war, in order to ſettle affairs after the ravages which they had an account had been committed in thoſe parts. He ſailed accordingly with the trade in the ſpring of the year 1705, and arrived, on the ſeventh of *May*, ſafely at *Jamaica*. There he ſoon received intelligence, that a ſtout ſquadron of the enemies ſhips was on the

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a London Gazette, No. 4278.

the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, and that ſeveral rich ſhips were ſpeedily expected from the coaſt of *New Spain*. Upon this, he ordered the ſquadron to be put in a poſture of ſailing as ſoon as poſſible, and having left a ſufficient convoy for the protection of the homeward-bound fleet, he ſailed, on the ſixth of *June*, for the *Spaniſh* coaſt y.

On the ſeventeenth of the ſame month, being then within ſight of *Carthagena*, he chaſed a ſhip, which in the night ran in among the *Sambay Keys*, where were very uncertain ſoundings and ſhoal water, inſomuch, that the *Briſtol*, a ſhip of fifty guns, came on ground, but was got off with little or no damage; however, ſhe came up with the *French* ſhip, and after two hours diſpute with thoſe that were neareſt to her, ſhe ſubmitted. She had forty ſix guns mounted, and carried out with her three hundred and ſeventy men; but buried all but one hundred and fifty, unleſs it were a few they had put into prizes. She brought ſix hundred and forty negroes from *Guiney*, of which two hundred and forty died, and moſt of the reſt were put on ſhore at *Martinico*, the iſland of St. *Thomas* and *Santa Martha*, for they had heard that a ſquadron of *Engliſh* ſhips, was in the *Weſt-Indies*. The rear-admiral plying to the eaſtward, diſcovered off the river *Grande* two ſail, cloſe in with the land, one of which being forced on ſhore, was burnt by her own men, being a privateer fitted out at *Martinico*, to diſturb our trade. The coaſt being thus alarmed, and no proſpect of any immediate ſervice, he returned to *Jamaica*; but appointed three of the beſt ſailers to cruize twenty days off *Anigada*, in the windward-paſſage, for the *French* in their return home, it being the uſual time for them to go from *Petit Guavas*, *Port de Paix*,

y Burchet, Lediard, compleat hiſtory of Europe for 1706, Mercure hiſtorique, &c.

and other places; but those ships joined him again without any success [z].

On his return to *Jamaica*, he had intelligence of a rich ship bound from *Carthagena* to *Port Lewis*, and in order to take this, he detached the *Montague* and the *Hector*, who though they missed their intended prize, brought in a *French* ship of twenty four guns, laden with sugar, indigo, and hides. Towards the latter end of the same month, the rear-admiral put to sea, in order to cruize off *Hispaniola*, where he met with such a storm as forced him back to *Jamaica* in a very distressed condition. While the ships, particularly his own, were refitting, the *Montague*, a sixty gun ship, was sent to cruize on the coast of *Hispaniola*, where he met with two *French* ships, one of forty eight, the other of thirty six guns, and the captain bravely engaged them both till he lost them in the night. The next morning he had sight of them again, and would willingly have renewed the engagement but his officers and seamen were not in the humour to fight, and so the *Frenchmen* escaped. The captain (whose name mr. *Burchet* hath not thought fit to transmit to posterity, though for what reason I cannot imagine) on his return to *Jamaica*, complained to the admiral, and brought the whole affair under the examination of a court-martial, where it fully appeared, that he had done his duty to the utmost of his power, and he was thereupon honourably acquitted; but as for his officers they were broke, as they well deserved, and many of his seamen punished [a]. The admiral in the mean time, to rectify this mistake as far as he was able, sent two fourth rates, the *Bristol* and the *Folkstone*, in quest of them; they fell in with them and their convoy; they behaved very gallantly in seizing the defenceless merchant-men: but though

[z] Burchet's naval history, p. 699.

[a] Burchet, compleat history of Europe for 1706.

though they had it abſolutely in their power to have fought at leaſt, if not to have taken the men of war, they let them ſlip through their hands, with half the fleet of merchant-men; for which ſcandalous neglect, the ſenior officer, whoſe name is again miſſing in mr. *Burchet*'s hiſtory, but which I have reaſon to believe was *Anderſon*, came to be tried, broke, and rendered incapable to ſerve at ſea [b]. I am very ſorry that a more particular detail of theſe affairs cannot be had, becauſe the ſupport of hiſtory is the beſtowing juſt praiſes on worthy men, and ſetting ſuch a mark of diſgrace on men of another character as they deſerve. A little after theſe unlucky accidents, while the admiral was detained, for want of ſtores, at *Jamaica*, the *Suffolk*, where his flag was flying, by ſome unfortunate miſtake or other, which I think was never accounted for, blew up in the gun-room, where moſt of the men were killed, and ſeventy more in their hammocks were ſo burnt, that moſt of them died. When things were once more put in order, he ſailed for the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, and had thoughts of ſtretching over again to the main, with a view to have ſent the orders of his catholick majeſty, king *Charles* III. to the governor of *Carthagena*; but finding this impracticable, and himſelf much too weak to undertake any thing againſt the *French* in thoſe ſeas, he returned again to *Jamaica* [c].

[b] Mr. Oldmixon, who was the author of the Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 314. gives us the following account. The Briſtol and Folkſtone, met with ten ſail of merchant men, bound from Petit Guavas to France, under convoy of two French men of war, one of four and twenty, and another of thirty Guns, out of which, captain Anderſon, commodore of the Engliſh, took ſix merchant-men, laden with ſugar, cocoa, cochineal, and indigo, and brought them to Jamaica. When he arrived, admiral Whetſtone held a court-martial, and captain Anderſon, with the other officers, were condemned to loſe their commiſſions for not engaging the French men of war.

[c] Burchet, &c.

I do not find in any of the accounts that I have met with, that ſir *William Whetſtone* was ſo much as ſuſpected of being wanting in his duty; but ſo it was, that through neglects of our *Admiralty*, and a mercenary ſpirit in ſome of our governors of colonies, and captains of men of war, things were fallen into ſuch diſtraction in the *Weſt-Indies*, that we were not either in a condition to hurt the enemy's ſettlements, or able ſo much as to defend our own. The truth ſeems to be, that the great fleets we fitted out every year for the *Mediterranean*, and the cruizers that were neceſſary upon our own coaſts, took up ſo many ſhips, that it was ſcarce poſſible to ſupply the demands of the *Weſt-Indies* properly. The enemy, on the other hand, had ſome very ſignal advantages; for after ſir *George Rooke* had taught them, that ſea-fights were not for their advantage, they had recourſe to their old trade of carrying on a pyratic war; and as they had little trade to protect, and many good ſhips, they were able to furniſh out ſtout ſquadrons for this purpoſe. Add to all that has been ſaid, the great concerns they had in the *Weſt-Indies*, where now not only the *French*, but the *Spaniſh* Settlements were immediately under their care, and where, as *France* had the free uſe of the ports, ſo ſhe had the direction alſo of the naval force of both nations, without which ſhe could never have carried on the war [a].

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[a] I do not pretend to give the reader theſe reflections as my own, becauſe I am very ſenſible that they have been made before by other writers. All the merit that I would aſſume, is, that of introducing them properly, and ſo as to prove what it certainly imports us much to know, that the French are as vigilant in making the moſt of every advantage, as we are generally backward in uſing ſuch opportunities as our ſituation and naval force afford; for I think it may be juſtly ſaid, that never any people had ſo many fine ſhips, and ſuch a multitude of brave ſeamen, and yet employed them to ſo very little purpoſe.

THE driving out the *Engliſh* from the *Leeward-iſlands*, was the point the *French* had moſt in view, and having a very exact account of our condition there, the governor of St. *Domingo*, M. *Iberville*, had orders to aſſiſt in an attempt that was to be made on St. *Chriſtopher's*. It is in truth a very difficult thing to give a fair account of this matter, ſince the *French* magnify it, and ſuch of our writers as have taken any notice of it, have done all they could to leſſen and diſparage it. The moſt probable relation that I have met with amongſt many, ſets the affair in this light. The count *de Chavagnac*, with a ſmall ſquadron of *French* men of war, attacked the iſland of St. *Chriſtopher's* in the month of *March*, where they burnt and plundered ſeveral plantations; but when they came to attack the caſtle, they were repulſed with loſs. They would, however, in all probability, have carried their point at laſt, if the governor of *Barbadoes*, on intelligence of what had happened, had not ſent down thither a ſloop, with intelligence to the governor, that a ſquadron from *England* was coming to his relief. This reaching the ears of the *French*, as it was intended it ſhould, they embarked in haſte, after having done a great deal of miſchief; but nothing comparable to what the *French* writers ſay [a]. But unluckily for us, before count *de Chavagnac* ſailed, count *Iberville* joined him with his ſquadron, ſo that they had now five ſtout men of war, ſome frigates, and twenty ſloops, with which they reſolved

[a] Father Daniel, in his journal of the reign of Lewis XIV. p. 236. computes the plunder of St. Chriſtopher's, at 3,000,000 of French money, or 150,000 pounds of ours; which is, I think, incredible; eſpecially, if the French retired in ſome kind of conſternation; and that they did is pretty certain, ſince the count de Chavagnac was queſtioned about it when he returned to France.

ſolved to attack *Nevis*. They landed in *Green-Bay* in the evening of the twenty ſecond of the ſame month, which was *Good Friday*; and they puſhed their ſucceſs ſo briskly, that by the twenty-fourth, which was *Eaſter Sunday*, the inhabitants made a capitulation, by which they promiſed to deliver up all their negroes, and to procure a number of priſoners, equal to that of themſelves, to be ſet at liberty in *Europe*, in conſideration of their not being taken off the iſland. Our Gazette ſays, that the *French* broke theſe articles, by treating them barbarouſly, burning their houſes and ſugar-works, and other actions of the like nature. But other accounts ſay, that the inhabitants could not comply with their capitulation, becauſe the negroes retired into the mountains, ſtood on their defence, and, when attacked, killed a great number of the *French*. Upon this the inhabitants came to a new agreement on the ſixth of *April*, in which they undertook to deliver to the *French*, in leſs than ſix months, one thouſand four hundred negroes, or one hundred and forty thouſand pieces of eight; upon which the *French* retired, carrying off with them moſt of the effects, and a great number of negroes, but fewer certainly than ſeven thouſand, as a *French* hiſtorian computes them[t]. A little after this unfortunate accident, commodore *Ker* arrived with a conſiderable force in the *Leeward-Iſlands*, and having ſtationed ſeveral ſhips according to his inſtructions, he bore away with the reſt for *Jamaica*, which was then thought to be in danger from the junction of *Iberville*'s ſquadron with that of *Ducaſſe*[u].

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[t] Moſt of theſe particulars I have drawn from a private letter written by a planter, but ten days after the laſt capitulation. The inquiſitive reader may conſult the Gazette, No. 4241. Burchet, the compleat hiſtory of Europe for 1706. and the Britiſh empire in America.

[u] Hiſtoire de St. Domingue, vol. iv. p. 212. Burchet, Oldmixon.

In the mean time rear-admiral *Whetſtone* ſailed with a few ſhips from *Jamaica*, in hopes of attacking *Ducaſſe*, before he was joined by the ſuccours he expected. But this deſign being defeated by bad weather, he returned to *Jamaica* about the middle of *July*, and towards the latter end of the ſame month was joined by commodore *Ker*, with the ſquadron under his command. There being now ſo conſiderable a force, the admiral was very deſirous that ſome thing ſhould be attempted capable of blotting out the memory of paſt miſtakes, and worthy of the *Britiſh* nation. After mature deliberation, it was reſolved to proceed to *Carthagena*, where they knew the galleons were, in order to try what effects king *Charles*'s letters would produce, and whether the governor might not be wrought upon by our ſucceſſes in *Europe*, to own him for his rightful ſovereign in *America*. With this view ſir *William Whetſtone* and captain *Ker* ſailed from *Jamaica* on the eighth of *Auguſt*, and on the eighteenth arrived before *Carthagena*, and ſent in a pacquet to the governor. At firſt he trifled a little, and gave evaſive anſwers, but when more cloſely preſſed, he declared roundly, that he knew no other prince than *Philip V.* and that no other he would obey. There were at that time in the port fourteen large galleons, lying cloſe in with the city, and unrigged. The admiral was for attempting to burn them, but the pilots declared, that any ſuch deſign would be found impracticable, unleſs we were firſt in poſſeſſion of *Becca Chica* caſtle, and the other forts, and even in that caſe it was very doubtful whether ſhips of ſo great a ſize as theirs could get in [b]. Then it was taken into conſideration, what further ſervice might be done, and the reſult of this was, a reſolution to return to *Jamaica*:

[b] Burchet, Lediard, Britiſh empire in America.

maica; from whence, as ſoon as the trade was ready, the rear-admiral was to convoy them home, and commodore *Ker* to remain behind in order to take upon him the command of the force left in the *Weſt-Indies*. This ſcheme was immediately put in execution, and upon their return, ſir *William* made all poſſible diſpatch in order to get home in time; and accordingly leaving the iſland the latter end of *October*, he arrived at *Plymouth* on the twenty third of *December*, 1706, with the *Suffolk*, *Briſtol*, *Reſerve*, and *Vulcan* fire-ſhip, and a fleet of merchant-men under his convoy, having been long abroad, and performed little, though no man in the ſervice had ſhewn a greater ſpirit of activity, before his being ſent on this *Weſt-India* expedition [i].

THE ſquadron, which commodore *Ker* brought into the *Weſt-Indies*, conſiſted of ſix ſhips of the line, three frigates, and a fire-ſhip. With this force he ſtretched over from *Jamaica* to the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, from thence to the main, where he cruized till the fourth of *September*; and then the winds proving northerly, he returned to *Hiſpaniola*, on the coaſt of which iſland he held a council of war, in order to determine, whether it might not be practicable to ſurprize *Port Lewis*? but the pilots not being well acquainted with the entrance into that port, it was reſolved to proceed directly to *Petit Guavas*, and to go to the northward of the iſland of *Guanaua*, in order the better to prevent their deſign from being diſcovered. On the thirteenth of *September* he detached captain *Boyce*, in the *Dunkirk* prize, with all the boats in the ſquadron manned and armed, with orders to range along the bays of

i London Gazette, No. 4292. Pointer's chronological hiſtory, compleat hiſtory of Europe for 1707.

of *Leogane* and *Petit Guavas*, in the night, with all imaginable care and caution, and ſo to diſpoſe themſelves as that they might deſtroy the enemy's ſhips in either of thoſe roads, and be able to return to the ſquadron next morning on a ſignal given. But how well ſoever this ſcheme might be laid, it miſcarried through the ill conduct of ſome of the officers, who running in too near the ſhore, alarmed the inhabitants to ſuch a degree, that any farther attempt was rendered impracticable k.

UPON this diſappointment, commodore *Ker* returned to *Jamaica* in order to refit his veſſels, and to repair the damage he had ſuſtained in this unfortunate expedition. But while he was thus employed, he was attacked by a new and greater evil, occaſioned by a mortality which prevailed among the ſeamen, and that to ſuch a degree, as in a manner diſabled him from any further ſervice. The merchants, however, who ſuffered for want of ſhips to protect them, loſing abundance of ſloops, laden with ſilver, upon the *Spaniſh* coaſts, began to complain loudly of the commodore's conduct; and even went ſo far, as to ſend home an agent, who had inſtructions to lay the matter before the houſe of commons, where, after a full and fair examination, this officer's behaviour received a cenſure, in conſequence of which he was laid aſide. In the mean time the command in the *Weſt-Indies* fell into the hands of ſir *John Jennings*, who had been detached for that purpoſe, with a conſiderable ſquadron from the *Streights*. But as his proceedings belong to the ſucceeding year, we muſt refer the reader to the laſt volume, for an account of them l.

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k Burchet, Lediard, hiſtoire de St. Domingue. l I thought it more expedient to take notice of this matter here, than poſtpone it abſolutely, till we come to ſpeak of the proceedings of par-

We muſt, before we leave *Jamaica*, take notice of a diſappointment the enemy met with in attacking *Carolina*. The *French* had long had their eyes on our northern colonies, which were then in a very flouriſhing condition; amongſt other projects that M. *Iberville* had been furniſhed with, one was the attacking, and as far as it ſhould be in his power, deſtroying the province of *Carolina*. When therefore he had finiſhed his deſigns in the *Leeward-Iſlands* he ſailed with a ſquadron of ſix men of war, and ſeveral tranſports for *South Carolina*. He made a deſcent in the neighbourhood of *Charles-Town* with about eight hundred and fifty ſoldiers and ſeamen, and ſent an officer to ſummon the governor to ſurrender the city and colony to the *French* king, telling him at the ſame time, that he would allow him but an hour to conſider of it. Sir *Henry Johnſon* told him, that was much too long a ſpace, for that he did not want half a minute to reſolve on doing his duty, and that therefore he was at liberty to return, and tell thoſe that ſent him, that the *Engliſh* were not to be frightned with words, for they ſhould ſoon find, that they were able to return blows. Upon this followed an attack, in which the *French* met with ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that they were glad to retreat with the loſs of three hundred killed, drowned, or taken; and among the latter ten officers, *viz.* their chief commander at land, his lieutenant, three captains of ſhips, four lieutenants, and a maſter, who together offered ten thouſand pieces of eight for their ranſoms. One of the *French* ſhips having ventured to make a deſcent at the diſtance of ſix miles from *Charles-Town*, the governor ſent a detachment of militia to the aſſiſtance of

parliament in the year 1707, where we ſhall however be obliged to reſume it, and where the reader will have a more particular account of what the offences were, with which this gentleman was charged.

of the planters, who were ſo lucky as to make themſelves maſters of the ſhip, with all its crew, which conſiſted of about one hundred and forty men [m].

THE *French* had alſo ſome deſigns upon *New York*, of which we had ſo early intelligence in *England*, that lord *Cornbury*, eldeſt ſon to the earl of *Clarendon*, was ſent over to take upon him the government; and he finding all things in great confuſion, and the few fortreſſes in that country running to ruin, firſt obtained from the aſſembly a conſiderable ſupply for that ſervice, and then ordered a general embargo to be laid, which enabled him to employ fifteen hundred men, in working on their fortifications; ſo that they were in a very ſhort time put into a good poſture of defence, and all the views of the enemy diſappointed on that ſide. We had not, however, as great ſucceſs in bringing home the *Virginia* fleet, part of which fell into the hands of the *French* privateers, and the reſt were ſeparated by a ſtorm, which occaſioned great apprehenſions and uneaſineſſes about them; but moſt of them, notwithſtanding, arrived at laſt ſafe in the weſtern ports. The merchants, however, raiſed loud complaints againſt the *Admiralty*, who had now, in a great meaſure, loſt their intereſt in the houſe of commons; ſo that whatever charges were brought againſt them, they had all the encouragement that could be expected, and the merchants were left at full liberty to produce their witneſſes, and to make out all that they could; which, though it afforded no remedy to theſe miſchiefs, yet it took the weight off the miniſtry

[m] See the compleat hiſtory of Europe for the year 1706, p. 548, and the Mercure hiſtorique, 1707, vol. i. p. 99. Father Daniel takes not the leaſt notice of the matter, and indeed, few or none of the French hiſtorians have courage enough to report fairly their defeats.

nistry, and gave the nation general satisfaction, as all enquiries, strictly and impartially prosecuted, ever must.

We are now, according to the method hitherto pursued in this work, to give the reader an account of the measures taken for the supplying the service of the succeeding year; and this, the success attending the war both by sea and land, enables us to do in a very short space. The queen opened the sessions on the third of *December*, 1706, with a most gracious speech, wherein she took notice of what had been already done, and of the reasons which obliged her to desire, that as great dispatch as possible might be given to the supplies; and how much weight her majesty's recommendation had, will appear from hence, that though they amounted to no less than five millions eight hundred ninety three thousand three hundred eighty one pounds fifteen shillings and three pence three farthings, yet they were voted in less than a week; so that the queen came on the twenty first to the house of peers, and having sent for the commons, the speaker presented the bills, and in his speech on that occasion, took notice, "That as the glorious victory obtained by the duke of "*Marlborough* at *Ramillies*, was so surprizing, that the "battle was fought before it could be thought the armies "could be in the field, so it was no less surprizing, that "the commons had granted supplies to her majesty be-"fore the enemy could well know that her parliament "was sitting[o]."

THIS care of the public thus shewn, the house went into the consideration of the several expeditions executed within the compass of the preceding year, and after a long

[n] Burchet, Burnet, Oldmixon, compleat history of Europe, life of queen Anne. [o] See Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 47.

long debate, on the twenty ſeventh of *January*, in relation to the method of carrying on the war in *Spain*, it was carried on the queſtion by a majority of two hundred and fifty againſt one hundred and fifty, that the ſeveral ſums of money, for the extraordinary ſervices for the year 1706, which had been agreed to by this houſe, had been advanced and expended for the preſervation of the duke of *Savoy*, for the intereſt of king *Charles* III. in *Spain* againſt the common enemy, and for the ſafety and honour of the nation. Not long after, the houſe proceeded to take into conſideration the report from the committee, to whom the petition of ſeveral proprietors of plantations in the iſlands of *Nevis* and St. *Chriſtopher's* in *America*, and other merchants trading to the ſame, on behalf of themſelves and the other inhabitants and traders to the ſaid iſlands, was referred, and the ſame being read, it was reſolved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented "to her majeſty, that ſhe will be pleaſed to appoint ſuch "perſons, as her majeſty ſhall think fit, to enquire into "the true ſtate of the loſſes of the people of the iſlands of "*Nevis* and St. *Chriſtopher's*, in order to lay the ſame "before this houſe the next ſeſſion of parliament, to apply "what may be convenient for the better ſecuring thoſe "iſlands, and ſupplying them with neceſſaries in order to "a reſettlement." The ſaid addreſs being preſented accordingly, her majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, "That ſhe "was very well pleaſed to find the houſe of commons had "ſo compaſſionate a ſenſe of the loſſes of her ſubjects in "*Nevis* and St. *Chriſtopher's*; as alſo with the concern "they ſhewed upon this occaſion for the plantations "which were ſo juſtly entitled to their care, by the large "returns they made to the public; and her majeſty would "give the neceſſary orders for what the houſe had deſired "in that matter." Accordingly her majeſty was afterward-

wards pleaſed to appoint two gentlemen, of known ability and integrity, to go to the ſaid iſlands, to procure an exact ſtate of the loſſes of her ſubjects there, in order to their being put on ſuch a footing, as might be beſt for the particular benefit of the inhabitants, and the general good of theſe kingdoms p.

THE houſe having had notice of the great declenſion of our intereſt in, and trade to *Newfoundland*, the marquiſs of *Caermarthen* having likewiſe acquainted them, that certain pirates had made a great and dangerous ſettlement at *Madagaſcar*, where they threatened to erect a kind of thieviſh republic, little inferior to thoſe on the coaſt of *Barbary*; and having offered to go himſelf with a ſmall ſquadron to put an end to this miſchief while there was room left for doing it, the houſe appointed a committee to take theſe matters into their conſideration; who, after having throughly examined them, came to the following reſolutions q.

"I. THAT a great number of pirates have ſettled "themſelves in the iſland of *Madagaſcar*, from whence "they have committed many great piracies, robberies, and "depredations, very ruinous to trade, and whereby the "lives of many of her majeſty's good ſubjects have been "deſtroyed.

"II. THAT an humble addreſs be preſented to her "majeſty, that ſhe would be graciouſly pleaſed to take into "her royal conſideration, how the ſaid pirates may be "ſuppreſſed, and their further piracies, robberies, and de-"predations, may be effectually prevented." Which reſolutions were on the 8th of *April* agreed to by the houſe.

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p Compleat hiſtory of Europe, life of queen Anne, Chandler's debates. q Chandler's debates, vol. iv. p. 67.

The ſame day it was reſolved, "That an humble addreſs "be preſented to her majeſty, that ſhe will be graciouſly "pleaſed to uſe her royal endeavours to recover and pre- "ſerve the ancient poſſeſſions, trade, and fiſhery, in *New- "foundland.*"

HER majeſty received theſe addreſſes very graciouſly, and promiſed that proper care ſhould be taken with reſpect to the matters contained in them: And thus ended the proceedings of this ſeſſion of parliament, with which I ſhall conclude the events of this winter.

WE have now run through the naval tranſactions of about eighteen years, in which ſhort ſpace there happened ſo many things worthy of remark, and our maritime power encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that it is with no ſmall difficulty that I have been able to bring them into this compaſs. But a bare relation of events will very little benefit ordinary readers, if they are not attended with ſome few reflections, in order to point out the advantages and diſadvantages which befel ſociety in conſequence of theſe tranſactions. The two wars, in which we were engaged in conjunction with the *Dutch*, as they demonſtrated on the one hand our mighty power at ſea, ſo on the other they put us to a mighty expence. The houſe of commons in the year 1702, in a repreſentation to the queen, ſay expreſly, that from *November* 1688, to *March* the eighth, 1701, there had been raiſed for the ſervice of the war, forty five millions five hundred ſixty eight thouſand ſeven hundred twenty five pounds nineteen ſhillings and two-pence halfpenny, an immenſe ſum indeed! As to the expences of queen *Anne*'s war, we ſhall take notice of them when we come to the concluſion of it: at preſent let us obſerve, that one national end, with reſpect to *England*, was, in this laſt war particularly, in a great meaſure anſwered, I mean the deſtruction

ſtruction of the *French* power at ſea; for after the battle of *Malaga*, we hear no more of their great fleets; and though by this the number of their privateers was very much encreaſed, yet the loſſes of our merchants were far leſs in the latter, than in the former reign, which I think was chiefly owing to a ſeries of enquiries conſtantly carried on either in one houſe of parliament or the other.

THE ſucceſs of our arms at ſea, and the neceſſity of protecting our trade, joined to the popularity of every ſtep taken towards the encreaſing our maritime power, occaſioned ſuch meaſures to be purſued in order thereto, as annually added to its force. The great ſtorm in 1703, the misfortunes that ſo many ſquadrons met with in the *Weſt Indies*, our ill luck in regard to the *Dunkirk* Privateers, and in ſhort every other untoward accident which fell out within this period of time, though it bore hard upon private perſons, and was injurious to our trade in general, yet it was in the main beneficial to our marine, inaſmuch as it gave a handle for augmenting it, as every thing tending thereto was well received. Hence aroſe that mighty difference which, at the cloſe of the year 1706, appeared in the royal navy; which not only in the number, but the quality of the ſhips of which it was compoſed, was greatly ſuperior to what it had been from the time of the revolution, or even before it. The oeconomy and diſcipline of our marine, was alſo much mended, and thoſe jealouſies in a great meaſure worn out, which had been very prejudicial to men of the greateſt merit, during the preceding reign, as they certainly were in the latter part of this, when they were moſt unfortunately revived. The great encouragement given to the ſailors, by taking the utmoſt care of the ſick and wounded, exact and ſpeedy paying of prize-money, and the many extraordinary orders that from time to time were iſſued in their favour, and are ſtill to be met with in our Gazettes,

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from whence ſome of them have been cited in this work, gave a mighty ſpirit to our ſailors, and in a manner extinguiſhed that prejudice which has ſince revived againſt going to ſea in a man of war. Thus, in this reſpect, whatever we might do in others, the nation certainly throve by the war, that is to ſay, we grew conſtantly ſtronger, our fleets more numerous and better manned; ſo that at the time I conclude this volume, we were much more capable of aſſerting our claim to the dominion of the ſea, than at the time the war began.

If any of my readers ſhould entertain a doubt, either as to the truth of the facts here laid down, or the ſolidity of the judgment I have delivered upon them, I think I need only turn him over, for ſatisfaction, to foreign authors; for certainly, if they concur in ſentiment with me on this head, there ought to be no diſpute about it. But if we dip into any of the *French* political writers, we ſhall not fail to find them deploring the viſible decay of their maritime power, from the time of the battle of *Malaga*, and conſtantly blaming the adminiſtration, for not bending their thoughts to the recovery of it ſo much as they ought to have done; which they, generally ſpeaking, aſcribe to the vaſt expence of the war by land, which would not, by any means, admit the diverting ſuch ſupplies as were neceſſary for the ſervice of the ſea. From theſe complaints, which are certainly well founded, it is manifeſt that, on the one hand, their maritime power declined, whilſt ours encreaſed; and on the other, that this declenſion grew ſo faſt upon them, that their ableſt miniſters thought it in vain to ſtruggle, and therefore gave up all further concern for their reputation in this reſpect, in a fit of deſpair, out of which nothing but our inactivity or negligence would recover them.

To this I may add, that as the *Spaniſh* naval power had been long decaying, ſo by this war it was totally deſtroyed: they had indeed a few galleys in the battle of *Malaga*, and it may be half a dozen men of war in the *Weſt-In-*

dies; but upon the whole, they had ſuch occaſion for ſhips of force, and had ſo few of them, that the aſſiſtance given them by the *French*, contributed not a little to the declenſion of their marine, as appears by the deſtruction of their men of war at *Vigo*, which was a loſs they were never able to repair; and though it be very true, that whilſt *Spain* was governed by a prince of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and lived in amity with us, we were rather bound to encourage and protect, than any way to leſſen or depreſs the *Spaniſh* power at ſea; yet by the paſſing of this crown into the houſe of *Bourbon*, our Intereſt, in this reſpect, was entirely changed, and the leſſening their maritime ſtrength was a comparative augmentation of our own; and this I take to be the principal reaſon, that through the courſe of the war, *France* complained ſo much of the burden of *Spain*. For though by the returns of her plate-fleets, and letting the *French* for a time ſhare in the trade of the *South-Seas*, ſhe might repair that loſs of treaſure, which the maintaining ſo many armies for her ſervice might occaſion, yet the loſs of that maritime power, which was now to protect both ſtates, was a loſs that never could be repaired, as reaſon informed all wiſe people then, and as we have been taught by experience ſince.

It may, perhaps, be ſaid, that as the *Dutch* were concerned in this war as well as we, as they ſhared jointly in the dangers and expences of it, ſo they muſt have been equally gainers in reſpect to their trade and maritime power. But as to this it is moſt evident, that the *French*, according to the information they have received from the moſt intelligent *Dutchmen*, take the thing to be quite otherwiſe, and argue on it to the *Dutch* themſelves, as if it was a fact out of diſpute, from whence they take occaſion to alledge, that while the *Engliſh* made a pretence of ruining the maritime power of *France*, they, in reality, aimed at doing as much for the *Dutch*, in order to ſecure univerſal trade, and the ſupreme power of the ſea, to themſelves. How far the

fortune of war might put this in our power, I will not ſay, but this I will venture to aſſert, and hope it will be readily credited, that ſuch a thing was never in our intention. The ſupplanting allies, is a ſtrain of policy common to the *French*, but, without partiality I may ſay, unknown to the *Britons*. We have fought for our allies, and conquered for our allies; nay, we have ſometimes paid our allies for fighting in their own cauſe, and for their own profit; but to over-reach our allies, eſpecially our good allies the *Dutch*, was, I dare ſay, never in our will, or in our power. This indeed I muſt own, that in the conduct of this laſt war, eſpecially to the year 1706, we had as much the lead in councils as ever the *Dutch* had in the former war; for this we paid largely, and, I think, we had a right to it, if we got any thing by it. I muſt alſo ingenuouſly confeſs, that the oeconomy of the *Dutch* greatly hurt their reputation and their trade. Their men of war in the *Mediterranean* were always victualled ſhort, and their convoys were ſo weak and ill provided, that for one ſhip we loſt, they loſt five, which begat a general notion, that we were ſafer carriers, that certainly had a good effect. So that, taking all things together, I doubt whether the credit of the *Engliſh* nation abroad, or the ſpirits of the people at home, were ever higher than at this period of time.

HENCE it was, that our trade rather encreaſed than diminiſhed in this laſt war, and that we gained ſo ſignally by our ſtrict intercourſe with *Portugal*; concerning which I will take the liberty of running over a few facts that are not commonly attended to. When the war firſt broke out, *Portugal* was allied to the two crowns; and with great difficulty it was that we detached that monarch from their intereſt: but the means by which we detached him, ought not to remain a ſecret. In the treaty he concluded with *Lewis* XIV. and his grandſon, he had ſtipulated that he ſhould be protected by an annual fleet from *France*; but when he found that this could not be complyed with, and that if he performed his part of the agreement, his coaſt

would be left open to the inſults of the maritime powers, he ſaw the neceſſity of changing his party, which induced him to make a treaty with us in 1703; and when the *French* Miniſter, M. *de Châteauneuf*, reproached him for thus changing ſides, *Don Pedro* replied, with great ſpirit "If your maſter had ſent thirty ſhips of the line to cruize "between *Lisbon* and *Setubal*, I had never quitted his al- "liance; and therefore I would have you let him know, "that he ought to blame himſelf, not me, for the conſe- "quences." By the treaty of commerce concluded with the ſame crown by mr. *Methuen*, we were prodigious gainers; and I will even venture to ſay, that this ſingle alliance was worth more to us, than all the negotiations in the former reign. The *Portugueze* began to feel the comfortable effects of the mines they had diſcovered in *Brazil*, and the prodigious commerce that followed thereupon with us, made their good luck, in this reſpect, in a great meaſure ours alſo; and ſo it has been ever ſince, otherwiſe I know not how the expences of the war could have been born: for as doctor *Davenant* juſtly computed the running caſh of this kingdom, at the time the revolution happened, could not be above eighteen millions; at the acceſſion of the queen we had not ſo much; but at the time of concluding the union it was encreaſed again very conſiderably, which muſt be attributed in a great meaſure to our *Portugal* trade: and this, as I have made it manifeſt, we owed entirely to our ſuperiour power at ſea.

As to our trade with the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, by the canal of *Cadiz*, it was certainly very much interrupted by the war at the beginning; but afterwards it was in a good meaſure reſtored, as well by our direct correſpondence with *Spain*, after the reduction of ſeveral provinces under the power of king *Charles* III. as thro' *Portugal*, by which a very great, though contraband, trade was carried on. We were at the ſame time very great gainers by our trade with the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*, as I am ſatisfied from ſeveral

French

French authors, who complain that their colonies ſuffered much leſs from our naval force, than they did from the loſs of this trade; which is ſtrongly confirmed by the complaints of the *Jamaica* merchants againſt commodore *Ker*, who was very negligent in protecting their ſloop trade, by which they were great ſufferers. The reaſon they aſſign alſo for his negligence, is yet a ſtronger proof; for they alledge, that he would not grant them convoys, without ſharing in their profits; and if theſe had not been very conſiderable, they could never have tempted an officer of his rank to run ſuch a riſque. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the complaints of the other colonies, which, however juſt in themſelves, yet if they, as evident it is they did, grew richer, more populous, and carried their trade farther than in former times, then it is ſurely as evident, that the nation in general gained conſiderably in this branch; to which I may add, that the act for giving a bounty upon hemp imported from our plantations, and other laws, were ſufficient inſtances of the inclination of the miniſtry to promote commerce and navigation as far as it lay in their power.

THERE is another remark that naturally ariſes upon this ſubject, and that is the mighy ſpirit which appeared amongſt our merchants, and enabled them to carry on all their ſchemes with ſuch vigour, as kept a conſtant circulation of money through the kingdom, and afforded ſuch mighty encouragement to all manufactures, as have rendered the remembrance of thoſe times grateful in worſe. Our ſucceſſes abroad, our victories by land and ſea, the reſpect paid to us by all the ſtates of *Europe*, ſerved to heighten and ſuſtain this ſpirit, which is at once the ſource and ſoul of proſperity, and a nation grows low and lifeleſs, as ſoon as it is taken away. There were indeed ſome accidental advantages which attended the latter part, eſpecially of this period, that have not been always viſible in preceeding or ſucceeding times. Amongſt theſe I reckon, in the firſt

place, an unfeigned loyalty; for it was the felicity of this princeſs, that her perſon was dear to all her ſubjects, nay, even to thoſe who queſtioned her title; and this produced another advantage, which was a kind of coalition of parties, of which I rather chuſe to ſay ſomething at the end of this volume, becauſe after the union, parties broke looſe, again and threw us, as they will always do, into the utmoſt confuſion. At the beginning of the war, the tories were as heartily for it as the whigs, and if they grew weary of it by degrees, it muſt be acknowledged, that they might be tempted thereto in ſome reſpects by the ill uſage they met with. While the duke of *Marlborough* was eſteemed a tory, his ſervices were often extenuated, and though the parliament gave him thanks, there was a party that denied him merit. When he and the treaſurer went over to the whigs, the ſcale turned ſo ſtrongly in their favour, that none could be employed who were not of this denomination; and thus Sir *George Rooke* was laid aſide immediately after he had gained a victory, honourable in every reſpect, but moſt honourable in this, that it was wholly owing to the prudence and conduct of the admiral. Before the whigs gained this aſcendency, and both parties were embarked in the cauſe of their country, their unanimity produced thoſe ſupplies, which enabled our armies and fleets to act as they did; and taught the moſt haughty and faithleſs of all powers, that bounds might be ſet to its force, though not to its ambition. The laſt advantage I ſhall ſpeak of, was the public ſpirit of parliaments in the queen's reign. If they gave in one ſeſſions, they enquired in the next, and it is impoſſible to mention any remarkable expedition within the firſt ſix years, which was not examined and cleared up by ſuch enquiries; ſo that the people ſaw and knew what they were doing, which encouraged them to pay chearfully, at the ſame time that it put them upon endeavouring to acquire by their induſtry what might maintain them happily, notwithſtanding theſe large, but neceſſary expences.

It

IT is certainly matter of great ſatisfaction to me, and muſt be ſo to every man who wiſhes well to his country, that after running through a ſeries of ſuch events, ſetting out at firſt with the ſight of ſo great a naval power as the *French* King had aſſembled, while we ſtruggled under many difficulties; and when we got out of that troubleſome war, found ourſelves loaded with a debt too heavy to be ſhaken off in a ſhort interval of peace: it muſt, I ſay, be a great ſatisfaction to be able, at the cloſe of this volume, to aſſert, that we had overcome all theſe difficulties; and, inſtead of ſeeing the navy of *France* riding on our coaſts, ſent every year a powerful fleet to inſult theirs, ſuperior to them, not only in the ocean, but in the *Mediterranean*, forcing them, as it were, entirely out of the ſea; and this, not by the thunder of our cannon, but by the diſtant proſpect of our flag; as at the raiſing the ſiege of *Barcelona*, when the ſon of the *French* king, the famous count de *Thouloufe*, high admiral of *France*, fled from Sir *John Leake*, and took ſhelter in the harbour of *Toulon*.

BY this, we not only ſecured our trade in the *Levant*, and ſtrengthened our intereſt with all the *Italian* princes, but ſtruck the ſtates of *Barbary* with terror, and even awed the grand ſignior himſelf, ſo far as to prevent his liſtning to any propoſitions from *France*. Such were the fruits of the increaſe of our naval power, and of the manner in which it was employed; and, though ſome through miſconception of the advantages flowing from this diſpoſition in thoſe princes and ſtates; and ſome again, from a perverſe humour, perhaps of objecting againſt whatever carried us into a great expence, inveighed againſt ſending ſuch mighty fleets into thoſe ſeas; yet nothing can be plainer, than that while we continued this war, ſuch fleets were neceſſary; that they at once protected our allies, and attached them to our intereſt;

and

and which is of greater importance than all the reſt, that they eſtabliſhed our reputation for maritime force, ſo effectually, that we feel even at this day, the happy effects of that fame which we then acquired. Of what conſequence therefore could the expences of theſe fleets, however large, be to a nation like this? eſpecially if we conſider, that the greateſt part of it only ſhifted hands, ſince it is the peculiar property of naval expences, that, tho' they riſe ever ſo high, they can hardly ever impoveriſh, becauſe they are raiſed on one part of the ſociety, and laid out with the other, and by a natural circulation, muſt certainly very ſoon return into the firſt hands.

IT is a further ſatisfaction, that we can ſafely ſay, our trade flouriſhed through the courſe of the war, and our merchants were ſo loyal to the queen, and ſo well affected to her government, that upon every occaſion they were ready to credit the adminiſtration with the beſt part of that immenſe wealth that had been raiſed under their protection. Theſe were glorious times indeed, if riches, victory, and honour, can render a nation glorious, and for all theſe mighty advantages, we ſtood indebted to the maternal affection of the queen; the wiſdom and probity of her miniſters; the heroic courage and generous public ſpirit of the officers ſhe employed, by land and ſea; and above all to the ſincere union of parties amonſt us, the contempt of private advantages, and a ſteady concern for the ſafety, reputation, and future proſperity of this nation. May the remembrance and example of theſe virtues, have ſome effect, even upon this degenerate age! let us reſolve to imitate our anceſtors, or at leaſt let us not reflect diſhonour on their atchievements, by calling ourſelves there poſterity.

The End of the THIRD VOLUME.

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